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EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

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FAYÛM TOWNS AND THEIR PAPYRI

GRENFELL, HUNT, AND HOGARTH



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EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH

FAYÛM TOWNS AND THEIR PAPYRI

BY

BERNARD P. GRENFELL, D.Litt., M.A.

HON. LITT.D. DUBLIN; FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

ARTHUR S. HUNT, D.Litt., M.A.

SENIOR DEMY OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD; FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE

AND

DAVID G. HOGARTH, M.A.

FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH

A CHAPTER BY J. GRAFTON MILNE, M.A.

MAPS, ILLUSTRATIONS, AND FOUR COLLOTYPE PLATES

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PREFACE

The present volume is a record of two years' excavations in the Fayûm, the first in 1895–96 conducted by D. G. Hogarth and B. P. Grenfell, who were joined subsequently by A. S. Hunt; the second in 1898–99 by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

With regard to the division of work among the editors, Part I (introductory), Part II. iv–vii describing the excavations at Ḳaṣr el Banât, Harît, &c., and Part III, containing texts of papyri, ostraca, and indices, are by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt; Part II. i–iii, describing the excavations at Kôm Ushîm and Ûmm el 'Atl, with Plates II and III, are by D. G. Hogarth; Part II. viii on the coins is by J. G. Milne.

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(a) *Inscriptions.*

(b) *Papyri.*

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

In the texts of the papyri and ostraca contained in this volume the same general plan has been followed as in those of preceding years. Literary texts are printed as written except for the division of words, and no lection signs other than those of the originals have been added. Corrections written by a hand different from the body of the papyrus are in thick type. Non-literary texts are given in modern form with accents, breathings and punctuation. In the single case of the very corrupt imperial edict (no. xx) an exact transcription of the original is given side by side with the reconstruction. Abbreviations and symbols are resolved where possible; for a list of the latter cf. Index vi. Iota adscript is reproduced wherever it was written; otherwise iota subscript is printed. Additions and corrections are incorporated into the text and their occurrence is recorded in critical notes, where also such orthographical errors are noticed as seemed likely to cause difficulty. Strokes occurring in the originals over ordinary numerals are not reproduced. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ the omission in the original of the letters enclosed; double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ mean that the letters within them have been deleted in the original, braces { } that the letters so enclosed, though actually written, should be omitted. Dots within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted. Dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered uncertain.

Small Roman numerals refer to the texts of the present volume; large ditto to columns; thick Arabic numerals to the texts of the ostraca; ordinary ditto to lines.

Archiv = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.

B. G. U. = Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden.

Brit. Mus. Pap. = Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I and II, by F. G. Kenyon.

C. P. R. = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.

Gr. Pap. I = Greek Papyri, Series I. An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell.

Gr. Pap. II = Greek Papyri, Series II. New Classical Fragments and other Greek and Latin Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

Ox. Pap. I and II = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I and II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

Pap. Gen. = Les Papyrus de Genève, by J. Nicole.

Pap. Par. = Les Papyrus Grecs du Musée du Louvre (Notices et Extraits, tome xviii. 2), by W. Brunet de Presle et E. Egger.

P. P. I and II = The Flinders Petrie Papyri, Parts I and II, by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy.

Rev. Pap. = Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by B. P. Grenfell, with an Introduction by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy.

Wilck. *Ost.* = Griechische Ostraka, by U. Wilcken.

PART I.

INTRODUCTORY.

I. THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF THE FAYÛM.

THE Arsinoite nome of antiquity, the Fayûm of to-day, consists of a leaf-shaped depression on the west of the Nile valley, with which it is connected only by a narrow break in the chain of the Libyan hills between Illahûn and Hawâra. Through this neck the Baḥr Yusuf, a natural channel which leaves the Nile a little north of Assiût and runs along the edge of the western desert, empties itself into the province and is diverted at the entrance into numerous branch canals. These, with the solitary exception of the Baḥr Gharaḳ, which waters the south-west portion of the Fayûm and ends in a series of pools at the west end of the Gharaḳ basin, find their way down the slopes of the province and dispose of their superfluous water in the Birket el Ḳurûn, a brackish lake covering about seventy-five square miles. That the Birket el Ḳurûn is the shrunken representative of the great Lake Moeris, which, when it filled nearly the whole depression of the Fayûm, excited the marvel of Herodotus and other early travellers in Egypt, was clearly demonstrated in 1892 by Major R. H. Brown in his monograph *The Fayûm and Lake Moeris*. The view of Linant Bey that Lake Moeris was an artificial high-level lake near the entrance of the Fayûm and restrained by embankments from falling into the Birket el Ḳurûn, is there shown to be contrary alike to the evidence and to common sense (cf. our article in *Arch. Rep. of the Egypt Explor. Fund*, 1899, pp. 13 sqq.; and Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 172 sqq.). The engineering aspects of the Lake Moeris problem are fully treated by Major Brown, whose authority on these points stands second to none; but since his

book was written much new archaeological evidence has been discovered, especially for the Graeco-Roman period, from the Petrie Papyri and our own excavations, and it is now possible to exercise a closer check than before upon the statements of ancient authors, and of Strabo in particular, about Lake Moeris. Full use of the new materials however cannot be made until the levels of the various sites at which we have dug have been ascertained; and there remain several important problems which can only be solved by systematic excavation. The level of the Middle Empire cemetery at Ûmm el Baragât, the scene of our last winter's work (*Athenæum*, May 12, 1900, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, I. pp. 376–8), is likely to provide the lowest *terminus ad quem* for the height of Lake Moeris in the XIIth Dynasty; a somewhat extensive use of the spade is still necessary to decide among the very divergent views which have been taken concerning Dimê. We propose to continue our researches in the Fayûm next winter, and shall at some future time investigate thoroughly the question of the levels. We therefore hope to be ultimately in a position to discuss the history of the Fayûm more completely than at present. But since not a few definite results have been secured by our excavations, it seemed worth while to make a provisional sketch of the ancient geography of the district. For the history of the province down to the time of Herodotus we rely mainly on the conclusions of Major Brown, whose general theory of Lake Moeris has been, so far as we know, confirmed by all our excavations.

To understand the series of changes which finally converted the Fayûm from a large lake into a flourishing and populous province, it is necessary to bear in mind certain general facts about the levels. The central part of the district is formed of three plateaux sloping downwards in a north-westerly direction. The highest of these consists of the strip from Illahûn, which is twenty-five metres above sea-level (Reduced Level 25), to Medinet el Fayûm (R. L. 22·5). From there the slope descends more rapidly to the bottom of the second plateau, on the edge of which Senûres, Senhûr, and Abûksa are situated at R. L. 10. Below this is a still more rapid descent to the Birket el Ḳurûn, which in March, 1892, was forty-three metres below sea-level, and has fallen a little since then. The pre-Ptolemaic antiquities of the Fayûm are for the most part situated on the first and highest plateau between Illahûn and Medinet el Fayûm, or within a few miles of the latter town, and were to a large extent examined by Prof. Flinders Petrie in 1888–90. No pre-Ptolemaic remains are known to exist in the Fayûm on the level of the third plateau, or more than half-way down the second plateau. Graeco-Roman remains however are found on all three plateaux of the central slope of the Fayûm, and in still greater abundance on the side-slopes. Our excavations have, for reasons which will hereafter appear,

been at various sites on the outlying parts of these side-slopes, those described in the present volume being in the north-east and north-west. The lowest site which we have examined is Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn near the west end of the Birket el Ḳurûn. This is known to be at R. L. 4; Wadfa, Ḳaṣr el Banât, Harît, and Kôm Ushîm are a few metres higher, Ûmm el 'Atl is somewhat higher still, though certainly not above R. L. 20. All these sites therefore are below the level of the first plateau.

In 2500 B. C., according to the calculations of Major Brown, the basin of the Fayûm was filled, at any rate up to R. L. 22·5, by the Baḥr Yusuf, which flowed in by the Hawâra channel. When the Nile fell in spring the surplus water from the lake flowed back again by the same channel into the Nile valley. Since the bottom of the channel is at one part a rock-bed which is still eighteen metres above the sea, no return flow can have taken place when the water inside the Fayûm fell below that level. This fact, though it comes into importance later, does not yet affect us, for it is a question whether, before the time of the Old Empire at any rate, the site of Medineh and the banks of the Hawâra channel were not also under water. Whether the highest of the three plateaux had to be reclaimed by artificial means, as the other two certainly were, depends on another question, whether the Nile bed has been rising in the last five or six thousand years. If it has remained approximately the same, then in reconstructing the early history of Lake Moeris the basis of the calculations can be the existing Nile levels. On this theory in 2500 B. C. the Baḥr Yusuf would have filled up the Fayûm to about R. L. 25, unless artificially controlled. On the other hand, if Prof. Petrie is right in supposing that the level of the Nile bed has been rising for many thousand years at the rate of about four inches a century (Brown, *ibid.* p. 87), then in 2500 B. C. the Nile flowed at a level four and a half metres lower than at present, and the high ground at the entrance to the Fayûm, comprising the first plateau, would have been out of the water before any attempt had been made to regulate the inflow. Throughout his reconstruction of the early history of Lake Moeris, Major Brown gives two alternative series of levels of the lake at different epochs to suit both views about the Nile level, but without definitely deciding in favour of either. Apart from the arguments urged by Prof. Petrie (*l. c.*), which seem very strong and have recently been corroborated by fresh discoveries, the lower series, which proceeds on the assumption that the Nile has been rising and supposes Medinet el Fayûm to have been naturally above water in 2500 B.C., is the more probable. From an engineering point of view it is the easier hypothesis (Brown, *ibid.* pp. 88, 92); the levels of the Middle Empire cemetery at Ûmm el Baragât (cf. p. 6) seem to suit the lower series better than the

higher; and the earliest historical facts known about the Fayûm accord better with the view that Medineh was inhabited before the inflow of the Baḥr Yusuf was checked by the building of the great dam at Illahûn. The credit of executing this important engineering project has generally been assigned to the kings of the XIIth Dynasty, who certainly took a great interest in the Fayûm. It is even usually stated that a king of that dynasty founded Medinet el Fayûm, which in Pharaonic times was called Shetet. This view however is not quite correct, for, as M. Maspero has pointed out to us, the name Shetet occurs in the Pyramid texts, so that there must have been a settlement there in the time of the Old Empire. If the Nile bed has not risen in the last five or six thousand years, we should have to suppose that it was one of the Old Empire kings who built the dam at Illahûn and thus caused the site of Medineh to emerge from the lake. But it is from all points of view more satisfactory to adopt the hypothesis that in the time of the Old Empire, which must in any case partly precede 2500 B.C., the first plateau was naturally raised above the water level, and that the regulation of the inflow of Lake Moeris was first undertaken by the kings of the Middle Empire, whether, as Prof. Petrie thinks, following Manetho, their date was about 2500 B.C., or, as some other Egyptologists assert, several hundred years later. We may therefore picture to ourselves the Fayûm in the time of the Old Empire as a lake filling the basin in flood time up to about the level (R. L. 22·5) of the town of Shetet, which was surrounded by some miles of marshy land left bare when, through evaporation and the outflow in winter and spring, the level of the lake sank about three metres. No monuments which can be certainly ascribed to the Old Empire have yet been found in the Fayûm. Shetet itself was most likely nothing more than a fishing village. But the half-excavated mastaba high up on the hills to the east of Sêla is probably a work of the Old Empire, and it is possible that the remarkable temple discovered by Dr. Schweinfurth behind Dimê on the north side of the Birket el Ḳûrun may belong to that period, though it is generally assigned to the Middle Empire.

The position of the inhabitants of the first plateau cannot however have been very secure so long as the inflow of the Baḥr Yusuf was unchecked. An unusually high flood might at any time overwhelm the site of Shetet, and the mere rise of the Nile bed through centuries would ultimately threaten to submerge it. To secure even the ground already under cultivation from encroachment, it became necessary to construct a great dam with powerful locks at the entrance of the Fayûm, and probably also at Hawâra. By these the maximum level of the lake was permanently kept below the level of Medineh, and the surplus water of the Baḥr Yusuf over and above what was required for

the Fayûm was diverted, as it is now, by an escape leading from Illahûn into the Nile. There is, as we have said, good reason for identifying the king Moeris, whom ancient geographers declare to have been responsible for the dyke at Illahûn, with one of the kings of the XIIth Dynasty. The interest which one of the greatest of those monarchs, Amenemhat III, took in the district is shown by the number and splendour of his monuments there, notably the famous Labyrinth and the pyramid of Hawâra, the one his palace, the other his tomb, and the two colossal statues of himself at Biahmu, which Herodotus saw standing. In his reign the Fayûm was a summer resort of the king, where he could 'enjoy the desert air cooled by the immense surface of the lake and indulge his taste for crocodile hunting' (Brown, *ibid.* p. 72).

While the history of the Fayûm before the XIIth Dynasty and the area which was above water at different times must be largely a matter of conjecture, the area under the XIIth Dynasty can be determined and the subsequent extensions traced with a very fair degree of precision, which is susceptible of still further definiteness. The chief aim of the construction of the Illahûn dam may well have been to secure pre-existing land from encroachment and to obtain better drainage; but it also served two other important objects. The ancient authorities who refer to the Fayûm, Herodotus, Strabo and Diodorus, agree that Lake Moeris served as a reservoir from which the falling Nile could be augmented; and though their statements about the Fayûm, especially those of the two last authors, have, as will appear, to be received with much caution, there is no reason to question the correctness of their general assertion that Lake Moeris was used as a reservoir at some period. No doubt, even before the building of the dam at Illahûn, the outflow from the lake acted to some extent as a check on the falling Nile, but it cannot have been of much practical value, since the outflow would have been strongest just after the turn of the flood, when an increase of the volume of the water in the river would do harm rather than good. By the construction of the Illahûn dam however the level of the lake could be kept up and the surplus store drawn off in the early summer when water was most precious.

Secondly, though the first plateau was above the lake level long before the time of the XIIth Dynasty kings, some progress in reclaiming the second plateau was made by them. The average height of the lake at this period can fortunately be fixed within definite limits. Its maximum level already did not exceed R. L. 22·5, the height of Medineh, and since the lake would cease to have any outflow when it fell below R. L. 18 (*vide supra*) its average height must have been above that figure, for it still served as a reservoir for the Nile valley in the time of Herodotus. Important evidence for fixing the margin of the lake is

afforded by the remains of the colossi at Biahmu excavated by Prof. Flinders Petrie, and by the existence of a XIIth Dynasty obelisk at Ebgig, three miles south-west of Medineh. For a full discussion concerning the height of Lake Moeris under the Middle Empire and the arrangements for letting the water in and out of it, the reader is referred to Major Brown's book, especially pp. 87–92. He there supposes that the level of the lake ranged between R. L. 20·5 and 17·5, and that there were regulators at Illahûn and Hawâra. Between Hawâra and Edwa was the mouth of the lake; the newly reclaimed area consisted of about 27,000 acres which were above R. L. 17·5. These were protected by a bank (part of which still remains) running west from Edwa past Biahmu to Sinru or a little beyond, and then probably doubling back south-eastwards past Medineh to the desert opposite the Hawâra pyramid. At Biahmu was the principal port, the landing-stage probably being, as Prof. Petrie suggests, the steps of the platform upon which stood the colossi. In addition to this newly reclaimed belt of land in the centre of the province, there would also have been a certain amount of land available for cultivation round the margin of the lake. Though the Birket el Ḳurûn is now naturally brackish, since it is far below sea-level, there is no reason to think that the water of Lake Moeris was so, at any rate before the great reclamation which took place in Ptolemaic times; and the existence of early settlements far out of the reach of canals and necessarily dependent for their water on the lake proves that formerly the water was sweet enough for both drinking and irrigation purposes. In the south of the Fayûm the site of Ûmm el Baragât (Tebtunis), where though the town ruins are Ptolemaic or later the earliest tombs go back to the XIIth Dynasty (*Athenæum, l. c.*), was one of the first villages to spring up. On the north side of the Birket el Ḳurûn the temple and remains of a village behind Dimê discovered by Schweinfurth probably belong to the Middle Empire. It is possible that at Dimê itself there was an early settlement. In the time of the Middle Empire the site would, as the levels show, have been on an island (cf. its name in Greek and Roman times, Σοκνοπαίου Νῆσος); and the stone causeway, that runs through the middle of the town up to the temple on the summit of the slope on which Dimê stands, has been supposed by Major Brown and others to have been originally a quay. If this were really so, the level of the supposed quay would be an important piece of evidence for the height of Lake Moeris at the time when it was built. But a visit to Dimê last April has made us sceptical about the correctness of this explanation of the causeway. It is absolutely certain that Dimê was not an island in the Graeco-Roman period, and that it was well above the lake then is shown by a comparison of the level of the lower end of the causeway, R. L. 22·6, with the level of Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn, R. L. 4. The ruins, which

have for the most part been thoroughly ransacked by native diggers, have not disclosed anything pre-Ptolemaic; and since the causeway is clearly connected with the temple to which it leads, we should prefer, unless traces of an earlier temple can be found underneath the present Ptolemaic one, to suppose that the causeway is of the same date as the ruins of the rest of the town. In that case it is not likely to have had anything to do with a quay.

Another part where remains of the Middle Empire period might reasonably be expected is in the neighbourhood of Ûmm el 'Atl in the north-east corner of the Fayûm. The direct route across the desert from Arsinoë to Memphis, in Graeco-Roman times (pp. 196–7) as now, passed by Ûmm el 'Atl. Before the Ptolemies however, when the country between Biahmu and some point close to Ûmm et 'Atl was under water, the natural course for those who wished to go to Memphis direct instead of by the canal from Illahûn to the Nile, would have been to sail from Biahmu to a port in the north-east corner. From the point of view of this route, Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* v. 9) is correct enough in saying that Lake Moeris lay between the Memphite and Arsinoite nomes. But though such a port must have existed and have been a place of some importance, the site of it cannot be identified with any existing ruins. Whether Ûmm el 'Atl is a little above or a little below the 17·5 contour which probably represents the shore of Lake Moeris under the Middle Empire we do not yet know; but after excavating that site we can state with confidence that there are no ruins there prior to the Ptolemaic period. Neither we, nor so far as we know any one else, have found Pharaonic remains at Kôm Ushîm, though our own excavations there were not on a sufficiently large scale to be conclusive as to the earliest date of the town. But, though the lake may well have come up to Kôm Ushîm in Graeco-Roman times, that site was probably under water previously, and it is too far to the west to serve as a convenient port for persons coming from Arsinoë. Possibly the small mound to the east of Ûmm el 'Atl, which is apparently the ruin of an ancient flint factory, and the tombs behind it (p. 42), had some connexion with the port, but the remains there are insignificant. Further examination of the hills round the north-east corner might however lead to the discovery of a Middle Empire cemetery.

Under the New Empire the geographical conditions of the Fayûm underwent little or no change. Not that the task of reclaiming more land can have presented great difficulties; for when once the inflow of the Baḥr Yusuf had been securely regulated, it would have been easy by reducing the supply of water to lay bare the slope down to the edge of the second plateau at R. L. 10. Perhaps the monarchs of those times refrained from such a scheme because it would necessarily have destroyed the services of Lake Moeris as a reservoir for

the Nile valley (*vide supra*). But it is evident that neither the Theban kings of the XVIII–XXth Dynasties nor their foreign successors who made their capitals in the Delta paid much attention to the Fayûm. Thothmes III built a temple at Gurob near Illahûn, but no attempt was made to rival the splendour of the buildings of the Middle Empire; and even the ubiquitous Ramses II was apparently for the most part content to destroy the buildings of his predecessors in the Fayûm in order to make his own new temple at Heracleopolis. Outside the first plateau the only traces of the New Empire are at Ûmm el Baragât, and perhaps the flint factory near Ûmm el 'Atl mentioned above; and even at Ûmm el Baragât there is a gap in the series of tombs between the later Middle Empire and the XXIInd Dynasty, during which period the site may have been deserted.

The evidence of archaeology thus fully prepares us for accepting the general account of the Fayûm given by Herodotus (ii. 148–50). Inaccuracies of course there are in it. The lake was not χειροποίητος καὶ ὀρυκτή, and if the colossi stood at Biahmu, they must have been on the edge of the lake, not ἐν μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστά κῃ. The statement that the lake was six months filling and six months flowing back is probably not precise. The story about an underground inlet into Libya, which caused even Herodotus some doubts, has of course no foundation. But taking it as a whole, Herodotus' account of the Fayûm, so far as can be ascertained, conveys quite an accurate general impression. Whether he made the Nile tour to the First Cataract and back or not, Herodotus seems to have secured one advantage over most travellers to Egypt who have succeeded him, and to have visited the Fayûm in person. His description of that remarkable and too neglected province is much more valuable than that of Strabo, in comparison with which Herodotus' account has often (*e.g.* by Mahaffy, *Emp. of the Ptol.* p. 176) been depreciated. Herodotus implies that he went to the Fayûm, and his mistakes, such as they are, are those which an uncritical eye-witness might make. Strabo too states that he visited the Fayûm, but if he did, his account is only partly based on what he saw, for the state of the province which he describes had, as will be shown, ceased to exist more than 200 years before his time.

The visit of Herodotus marks the close of the second epoch in the history of the Fayûm. For this period we are not almost entirely dependent, as we are for the period before the Middle Empire, on conjecture; but the comparative paucity of literary and archaeological evidence still causes many points to be left in doubt. With the succeeding period, from the third century B.C. to the seventh century A.D., the case is very different, since in addition to the slight evidence of ancient geographers there is a wealth of geographical information

to be gained from the countless Greek papyri, which have made us better acquainted with the life of the inhabitants of the Fayûm in the Graeco-Roman period than with that of almost any other part of the ancient world. But since in the case of the majority of Fayûm papyri no record exists of their *provenance*, most of the geographical information was useless until systematic excavations had settled the general position of the three divisions (μερίδες) of the province in Graeco-Roman times, and had made some progress in the identification of the most important sites. This preliminary task we have now performed, and when the time comes for collecting the geographical data, as we hope to do when we have finished our researches in the Fayûm and when more Fayûm papyri have been published, the positions of a considerable number of villages are likely to be determined.

When the curtain which hides the history of the Fayûm during the two centuries between the visit of Herodotus and the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus is at length drawn aside, the picture disclosed by the Petrie Papyri is very different from the Fayûm of Herodotus and much more like the Fayûm of the present day. A very large number of villages have sprung up, the recent foundation of many of them being proved by the occurrence of such names as Ptolemais, Theadelphia, and Philoteris. The numerous papyri dealing with the building of new dykes and canals show that extensive reclamations were being executed. After many centuries of neglect the Fayûm once more became the object of royal attention and favour. The province which in the Revenue Papyrus, written in B.C. 258, was still officially known as 'The Lake' was renamed after the queen, and the name of its capital gradually changed from 'the City of the Crocodiles' to 'the City of the Arsinoites[1].' In this newly reclaimed area of cultivation Philadelphus found a convenient home for many soldiers from his army which was disbanded after the first Syrian war.

Turning to the geographical results of our own researches, the excavations recorded in the present volume led to the identification of five new sites, Karanis (Kôm Ushîm), Bacchias (Ûmm el 'Atl), Euhemeria (Kaṣr el Banât), Theadelphia (Harît), and Philoteris (Wadfa). Our work at Ûmm el Baragât in

[1] The form 'Arsinoë,' which is due to Strabo and other geographers, is never found in Greek papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Nor is its use in the Byzantine period clearly established. Where the name is written out in full it is Ἀρσινοιτῶν πόλις, except in B. G. U. 315. 4 (facsimile in Wilcken's *Tafeln*, xviii b), where the editors read ἐπ' Ἀρσινόης at the end of the protocol. We have however grave doubts about the correctness of the reading ἐπ', both here and in other protocols where the same question of reading ἐπ' or ἐν arises. ν and π are often practically indistinguishable in Byzantine papyri, but we have seen plenty of protocols in which ἐν is quite clear, and not one in which ἐπ' is certain. In B. G. U. 315. 4 the doubtful letter is more like ν than π, and if ἐν Ἀρσινόης be read, πόλει must be supplied; cf. the ellipse of πόλεως after Ἑρμοῦ and Ἀπόλλωνος in Gr. Pap. II. lxxxvii. 40, and I. lxiii. 5.

1899–1900 showed that place to be the site of Tebtunis (or Teptunis). Adding these to the sites previously known, Arsinoë (Kôm el Fâris, strictly speaking the name of only one of the many mounds at Medinet el Fayûm, but generally used of the whole site), and Socnopaei Nesus (Dimê), we have eight sites certainly identified by documents found in them. Before discussing other sites, the identifications of which are only probable in a greater or less degree, it will be well to indicate the general position of the three divisions of the Fayûm, called, perhaps after the names of their first administrators, the μερίδες of Heraclides, Themistes and Polemo (cf. map, Plate XVIII). Arsinoë, Socnopaei Nesus, Karanis and Bacchias were in the division of Heraclides, which must have embraced the eastern half of the province. Euhemeria, Theadelphia and Philoteris were in the division of Themistes, which occupied the north-west. The remaining division, that of Polemo, in which Tebtunis was situated, was in the south. The boundary between the μερίδες of Heraclides and Themistes, if it was nearly straight, probably started at a point very little west of Socnopaei Nesus, for even so the division of Heraclides is larger than the other two put together. That it was the most important of the three is indicated by the administrative arrangement of the μερίδες in Roman times, when the divisions of Themistes and Polemo were united under the control of one strategus, the other strategus being assigned to the division of Heraclides. Why the three divisions were so unequal in size does not appear. It is true that if the lake was filled in Graeco-Roman times up to about sea-level (p. 15) the outline map of the Fayûm as it is to-day is rather deceptive, for a somewhat larger piece must be subtracted from the division of Heraclides than from that of Themistes, while the division of Polemo, being far away from the lake, remains unaffected. But when the large strip of desert along the east side of the Fayûm and the smaller belt in the north-west corner, both of which in Graeco-Roman times were under cultivation, are taken into account, the proportional size of the three μερίδες would be much the same as if the present instead of the ancient cultivated area were the basis of comparison.

The μερίς of Polemo no doubt included the Gharaḳ basin, and probably the southern boundary of the μερίς of Themistes started from about the site of Medinet Mâdi and ran in the direction of Medinet el Fayûm. Some uncertainty exists about the Hawâra plateau. In the Roman papyri found by Professor Petrie lying in the desert at the cemetery of Hawâra, and published by Professor Sayce (Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoë*, pp. 28–37), the μερίς of Polemo is twice mentioned. On the other hand if we are right in placing Ptolemais Harbour at or near Illahûn (p. 13), the north side at any rate of the Baḥr Yusuf between Medinet el Fayûm and Illahûn appears to be in the μερίς of

Heraclides. The Baḥr Yusuf itself may well have been the boundary or part of the boundary between the μερίδες of Polemo and Heraclides.

Of the other sites which can be identified with a greater or less degree of probability, Philadelphia is the most certain. As we have already pointed out (Gr. Pap. II. p. 79), it is to be looked for on the edge of the old margin of cultivation to the south of Bacchias. The large number of extant Fayûm papyri written at Philadelphia makes it almost certain that they were found on the actual site of the village. Under these circumstances we proposed to place it at the mound five miles east of Rubayyât, which is a well-known source of papyri. This identification is, we believe, confirmed by the mention of Philadelphia on the portraits of the Roman period which were found in the cemetery of that site. From P. P. II. xlvi, where we hear of a person who farmed the tax upon vineyards and gardens in the villages of Philadelphia and Bubastus, it may be inferred that Bubastus was in the immediate neighbourhood of Philadelphia. Probably Bubastus is to be identified with one of the ancient sites in the cultivation near the modern village of Rubayyât.

The site of Dionysias we have already discussed in the *Arch. Report*, 1899, p. 13. The frequent mentions of Dionysias in papyri of this volume from Euhemeria and Theadelphia indicate that it was in the neighbourhood of these villages. Pap. lxviii shows that it was on the borders of the Fayûm, with a custom-house for caravans going probably to one of the Oases, while the position assigned to Dionysias in the map of Ptolemy points to its being at the west end of the Birket el Ḳurûn, a natural place for the fort which, as we know from the correspondence of its praefect Abinnaeus, existed there in the fourth century. Under these circumstances we proposed to place Dionysias at Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn. M. Daressy, however (*Annales du Service des Antiquités*, i. p. 26), chiefly on the evidence of a very fragmentary inscription which he found at Yâḳûta[1] on the side of the lake opposite to Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn, and which contains the combination ΕΝΔΙΟ[, wishes to identify that place with Dionysias. The distance between Yâḳûta and Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn being inconsiderable, most of the arguments in favour of the one site being Dionysias could be used in favour of the other, though the map of Ptolemy suits Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn slightly better, and that site is still on the road to the southern Oases, while Yâḳûta is a little out of the way. Since the remains of the town at Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn produced no papyri (p. 63), the question can only be settled by excavations at Yâḳûta, which would be a matter of much difficulty, owing to its great distance from fresh water. In 1898–99 the

[1] M. Daressy spells it Yaouta, as indeed it is more commonly pronounced, especially by fellahin, but some of the local Bedawin call it Yagûta, from which we may infer the presence of a ḳ.

site was not included in our concession, but we hope next winter to be able to work there for a short time.

Several villages called Ptolemais are known, and as a rule they are distinguished by various additions. The most important was *Πτολεμαΐδος Ὅρμος* or *Πτολεμαὶς Ὅρμου*, which frequently occurs in the Petrie Papyri, especially in connexion with dykes, canals, and waterworks (e.g. P.P. II. xiii. 18 *a*, xxxvii, xxxix), and is mentioned also by Ptolemy the geographer, who places it 10′ south of Arsinoë. Before the publication of those papyri Professor Petrie (*Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, p. 29) proposed to place the site of Ptolemais at the mound near Talit, relying partly on the evidence of Ptolemy, partly on an inscription said to have been found in the ruins of a fort close by, in which 6470 *ἐφηβευκότες* from *ἡ τῶν Πτολεμαιέων πόλις* return thanks to the Emperor Nero; partly on the correspondence between Ptolemy's description of Ptolemais as a *ὅρμος* and the site of Talit, which is situated precisely at the entrance to the Gharaḳ basin, where a sluice diverts the Baḥr Gharaḳ into a number of brooks. But this proposed identification, though at first sight attractive, must be wrong. In the first place *ἡ τῶν Πτολεμαιέων πόλις*, whether the inscription was really found at Talit or no, cannot possibly refer to a *κώμη* such as *Πτολεμαὶς Ὅρμου*, but must, as the existence of 6470 *ἐφηβευκότες* indicates, mean no other than the great Ptolemais Hermiu which Soter founded on a Greek model. Secondly, with regard to the position assigned to our Ptolemais by Ptolemy, the principle on which Ptolemy's maps were compiled (Petrie, *Illahun, &c.*, p. 29; cf. Brown, *ibid.* pp. 46, 47) is well illustrated by the places in the western desert which are mentioned by that geographer. Skiathis, Bacchis (= Bacchias), Dionysias, and the Small Oasis, which are connected by Ptolemy, are on one itinerary, that from Alexandria to the Oases; and no doubt, as Professor Petrie points out, Ptolemais Harbour was on the itinerary from Arsinoë to Oxyrhynchus. But though Talit is on one of the roads across the desert from the Fayûm to Behnesa, the fact that Ptolemy places Ptolemais due south of Arsinoë is not sufficient to prove that he was thinking of this little pursued land route. On the contrary the old interpreters of Ptolemy's geography placed Ptolemais on the canal leading from Arsinoë to Behnesa, which is the natural inference from its position on Ptolemy's list. A glance at the map will show that no person travelling to Oxyrhynchus from Arsinoë by water would go near Talit. Thirdly, the Baḥr Gharaḳ seems to us too small a stream, and the ruins at Talit are much too insignificant, to account for the addition of such a title as *ὅρμος* to Ptolemais and for the large amount of traffic which in Ptolemaic and Roman times passed by Ptolemais Harbour, the second town in the Fayûm. Lastly, what is in itself

almost decisive, Ptolemais Harbour seems to have been in the *μερίς* of Heraclides; for, as Mr. J. G. Smyly informs us, the *νομαρχία* of Aristarchus is shown by an unpublished Petrie papyrus to have been in that *μερίς*, and from P. P. II. xxxviii. *recto* I. 18, *verso* III. 3 it appears that Ptolemais Harbour was in the *νομαρχία* of Aristarchus. This fact is fatal to the view that Ptolemais was in the south of the Fayûm. If then we reject the proposed identification of Ptolemais Harbour with Talit and ask where are we likely to find its site, the answer readily suggests itself—at Illahûn. Both *a priori* and *a posteriori* evidence lead to this conclusion. Even now, when practically all the exported produce of the Fayûm leaves by railway, there is still at Illahûn a kind of port where there is a broad expanse of water; and in Graeco-Roman times, when most of the produce must have left the Fayûm by water, a port of considerable size must have stood there. It is certain that whatever the name of this was, it was the port *par excellence* of the Fayûm, and there is therefore a strong presumption in favour of placing Ptolemais Harbour, which so far as we can judge was the principal port of the Fayûm, at Illahûn. This hypothesis accords very well with the rest of the evidence. Ptolemy, as has been said, seems to have placed Ptolemais on the canal leading from Arsinoë to Oxyrhynchus. If Ptolemais was an important town on the Bahr Yusuf at the frontier of the Fayûm, Ptolemy's mention of it is quite intelligible: in the same way when giving the land route from Alexandria to the Oases he mentions Bacchias, the first town to be reached in the Fayûm, and Dionysias, the last to be left behind. The distance (10′) between Arsinoë and Ptolemais according to Ptolemy is very close to the actual distance between Medinet el Fayûm and Illahûn; and the fact that Ptolemais is placed due south of Arsinoë instead of, as it really is, east-south-east, need not trouble us, for the general direction of the traveller from Arsinoë to Oxyrhynchus is of course south, and Ptolemy had already placed Arsinoë too far west in relation to the Nile valley. Corroborative evidence is given by P. P. II. xx, which is a copy of official correspondence concerning the export (*ἐξαγωγή*) of government corn by water from the Fayûm to Memphis, and shows that Ptolemais (Ὅρμου) was on the route. We quote Mr. Smyly's translation of Col. IV. 2–8 of that papyrus as emended by him: 'To Heraclides, oeconomus, from Theophilus, the agent of Anticles for the transport of the king's corn in his (Anticles') boats. The boat belonging to Anticles in the royal dockyard, of 900 artabae burden, bearing the sign of the heifer, having been commandeered by you on the 10th of the same month at Ptolemais, I hurried to you at the Labyrinth on the 11th, desiring you to release it. You said, however, that you had need of it to carry . . . for the elephants at Memphis.' Both the mention of the royal

dockyard at Ptolemais and that of the Labyrinth, which was half-way between Arsinoe and Illahûn, suit the identification of Illahûn with Ptolemais Harbour. In fact the Gurob cemetery where the Petrie papyri were found, which is at the end of the bank across the mouth of the Fayûm, was itself very likely the cemetery of Ptolemais. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the *Charta Borgiana*, the first Greek papyrus from Egypt ever published, is a list of 181 persons who worked the usual five days (cf. p. 204) at the embankments of Ptolemais Harbour[1]; and that this great dyke on which the welfare of the Fayûm depends is called in P. P. II. xxxvii. I. 20 the *μέγα χῶμα*, and is stated to be *κατὰ* Πτολε[*μαίδα*.

A comparative study of the modern village names in the Fayûm with those found in Graeco-Roman and Coptic times might lead to the identification of a number of sites solely on the evidence of names. Striking verbal coincidences occur, such as *Νέσλα* and Nezla. But for the present we confine ourselves to suggesting two such identifications for which there is some corroborative evidence. Psenuris was not only in the *μερίς* of Heraclides (B. G. U. 579. 5) but probably near Karanis, for a letter with instructions to the *ἀρχέφοδος* of Psenuris was found at that place (Pap. xxxvii). Under these circumstances its site may well be the ancient village under the modern Senûres, now the second town in the Fayûm. The village of Taleith or Talei is known from an unpublished Hawâra papyrus to have been in the *μερίς* of Polemo, and it is mentioned several times in our papyri from Ûmm el Baragât. We have already had occasion to refer to the ruins at Talît, which Professor Petrie proposed to identify with Ptolemais. Not improbably they are the site of Taleith.

It is, however, from geographical indications in the papyri that most information will be gained. But as we shall treat this subject more fully on a future occasion, we conclude with pointing out that Polydeucia, which is shown by Pap. cviii to be on the road between Theadelphia (Harît) and Arsinoë, and probably the first village reached after leaving Theadelphia, was most likely at or near the modern village of Gebâla at the end of the tongue of desert which runs south-east from Harit. Berenicis Αἰγιαλοῦ (lxxxii. 3) was, as its name implies, on the shore of the lake, and being in the *μερίς* of Themistes was probably to the north-east of Ḳaṣr el Banât.

Turning to the general aspect of the Fayûm in the Graeco-Roman period, the Petrie Papyri carry back the foundation of the identified villages on the

[1] See Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 339. The workers themselves seem to come from another village; cf. the phrase *εἰς τὰ χωματικὰ ἔργα* Τεπλύνεω(ς) (so Wilcken doubtfully) with lxxvii–lxxix of this volume, which show that the name following the date (i. e. Πτο' *ευαίδος* 'Ορμου) is that of the place where the dyke was. Is the correct reading Τεπτύνεω(ς)? If so, the *Charta Borgiana* and its companion rolls which were burnt by the natives may well have been found at Ûmm el Baragât (Tebtunis).

lower part of the second and on the third plateaux (cp. pp. 3 and 9) to the time of Philadelphus. Our own excavations on the sites, so far as they go, show that they had no earlier existence. Only at Ûmm el Baragât, which was one of the earliest settlements of the Fayûm and is on comparatively high ground, have we found pre-Ptolemaic monuments. But though the second and greatest reclamation of land in the Fayûm was brought to completion under Philadelphus—and owing to the rate at which evaporation when unchecked tends to dry up the lake (about two metres a year) the work was no doubt carried out speedily—the scheme probably originated with Soter or even one of the Persian kings, who may well have reduced the lake to the maximum of ten metres above sea-level and so brought the edge of the second plateau out of water. For determining the height of Lake Moeris in Ptolemaic times, the sites near the west end of the lake, being the lowest, are the most important. Of these Philoteris (Wadfa) is the lowest at which dated Ptolemaic documents have been found (cf. p. 63), but there is little doubt that Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn, which is some metres lower, and only four metres above sea-level, was founded in Ptolemaic times. For even if it is not the site of Dionysias (cf. p. 11), which already existed in the third century B.C., the well-preserved temple there is most probably Ptolemaic. Lake Moeris, therefore, can hardly, if at all, have been above sea-level after 200 B.C., and it was consequently not more than twice its present size. On the north side there can have been very little change, but the lake probably extended further towards the east and south-east as far as Kôm Ushîm, perhaps nearly up to Senûres. The area of cultivation, however, in Graeco-Roman times was not much smaller than at present, for on the east side of the province the old Baḥr Wardan, which left the Baḥr Yusuf south of Hawâra and can be traced round the edge of the hills past Philadelphia and Bacchias, enclosed a large area which subsequently became desert. A branch of the Baḥr Wardan probably continued its course round the north-east corner of the lake to Socnopaei Nesus and beyond (cf. P. P. II. xxxvi. (1) *τῆι διώρυγι τῆι πρὸς λίβα Ἡφαιστιάδος* (*sc.* Bacchias, cf. note on xv. 4) *πρὸς νότον τῆς Κλέωνος διώρυγος*); for fields and dykes at Socnopaei Nesus are frequently mentioned in papyri from Dimê, and when the lake was reduced to sea-level it must have soon become too salt, as well as too low, for irrigation purposes. The plain, too, between Euhemeria and Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn was cultivated in Graeco-Roman times, as is shown by the numerous traces of old canals.

From the reign of Philadelphus to the third century A.D. the prosperity of the Fayûm was at its height; *ἔστι δὲ ὁ νομὸς οὗτος ἀξιολογώτατος τῶν ἁπάντων κατά τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν κατασκευήν*, says Strabo (xvii. 35). In

the third century of our era it not only shared in the general decline of Egypt, but owing to its peculiar dependence on careful methods of irrigation suffered greater encroachments from the desert than the other nomes in the Nile valley. It is to this fact indeed that the pre-eminence of the Fayûm as a source of Greek papyri is largely due, since many villages were left stranded in the desert, and remained therefore comparatively well preserved. Socnopaei Nesus, the irrigation of which must have been always precarious, was among the first places to be deserted. There are no Dimê papyri so far as is known later than the third century. The fourth century saw the complete or almost complete abandonment of Bacchias, Philadelphia, and the other sites on the Baḥr Wardan, the Baḥr Tamîa becoming the new eastern boundary of the Fayûm; and in the same century Ḳaṣr el Banât and the other sites in the north-west corner were deserted. Even Karanis and Tebtunis, which remained on the edge of the cultivation, shrank to a much smaller size. In the last few years, however, owing to improved methods of irrigation and increased enterprise, not only is the land lost to cultivation on the east and north-west sides being recovered, but the traveller across the desert from Wasta to Medineh is, near the station of Sêla, greeted by fields at a height which no ancient methods of engineering could have supplied with water.

Such being in outline the condition of the Fayûm in the Graeco-Roman period as attested by archaeological evidence, it remains to inquire how far this coincides with the description of the nome by Strabo, who visited Egypt shortly after the Roman conquest. Diodorus, who came to Egypt about the same time, in describing the Fayûm (i. 51) concerns himself almost entirely with the foundation of the province by King Moeris (i.e. Amenemhat III), and his account is obviously not first-hand, though it is useful in supplementing that of Herodotus, especially on the subject of the canal connecting the mouth of the Fayûm and the Nile (Brown, *ibid.* pp. 82, 83). Strabo, on the other hand, not only professes to give an account of the Fayûm as it was in his own day, but implies that he visited it himself. His statements, therefore, require very careful consideration. To his general description of the Arsinoite nome, part of which is quoted above, no exception can be taken. But his account of Lake Moeris raises grave doubts whether he had ever seen it. He says (xvii. 35), *θαυμαστὴν δὲ καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἔχει τὴν Μοίριδος καλουμένην πελαγίαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ χρόᾳ θαλαττοειδῆ· καὶ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς δέ ἐστιν ὁρᾶν ἐοικότας τοῖς θαλαττίοις· ὡς ὑπονοεῖν* . . . (here follow some geological speculations). § 37 *ἡ δ' οὖν Μοίριδος λίμνη διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ βάθος ἱκανή ἐστι κατά τε τὰς ἀναβάσεις τὴν πλημμυρίδα φέρειν καὶ μὴ ὑπερπολάζειν εἰς τὰ οἰκούμενα καὶ πεφυτευμένα, εἶτα ἐν τῇ ἀποβάσει τὸ πλεονάζον ἀποδοῦσα τῇ αὐτῇ διώρυγι κατὰ θάτερον τῶν στομάτων ἔχειν*

ὑπολειπόμενον τὸ χρήσιμον πρὸς τὰς ἐποχετείας καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ διῶρυξ. ταῦτα μὲν φυσικά· ἐπίκειται δὲ τοῖς στόμασιν ἀμφοτέροις τῆς διώρυγος κλεῖθρα οἷς ταμιεύουσιν οἱ ἀρχιτέκτονες τό τε εἰσρέον ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ ἐκρέον. The first sentence (§ 35) was true enough of Lake Moeris in the time of Herodotus, when the lake filled four-fifths of the Fayûm depression and must have been a conspicuous feature in the landscape. It is to say the least of it a somewhat exaggerated description of Lake Moeris in Strabo's time, when it only filled two-fifths. § 37, however, presents greater difficulties. Into the problems connected with the precise situation of the two στόματα we do not propose to enter (cf. Brown, *ibid.* p. 81); but this much is clear, that Strabo considered Lake Moeris to be large enough and at a sufficiently high level to act as a reservoir for the Nile, receiving the surplus water at the time of the inundation and giving it back afterwards. It is, however, absolutely impossible that in Strabo's time the lake could have served any such function. Considering the low level to which the lake has fallen (43 metres below sea-level in 1892, now somewhat more), it is very doubtful whether it ever received enough water since the great reclamation by Ptolemy II to counteract the effects of evaporation; and in any case, if the lake had risen in Strabo's time to such a height that the water flowed back from the Baḥr Yusuf into the Nile, it would have inevitably submerged nearly half the villages of the nome. Yet from Strabo's story of the sacred crocodiles being fed by his host, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐντίμων αὐτόθι μυσταγωγῶν ἡμᾶς (§ 38), we are made to understand that he visited the Fayûm.

The conclusion seems to be that, though Strabo's description of the Fayûm as far as Arsinoë may well be based on his own observations, his account of Lake Moeris is mainly borrowed from older literary sources. There is no reason for supposing these to have been other than trustworthy, but they had long ceased to be applicable to the Lake Moeris of Strabo's own day.

II. The Discovery of Papyri in the Fayûm.

The first Greek papyrus which reached Europe from Egypt came from the Fayûm. It was the so-called *Charta Borgiana*, containing a list of persons who worked on the embankments at Ptolemais Harbour (cf. p. 14), and was found in 1778 along with about fifty other rolls. The rest however were burnt by the natives—so the story runs—for the sake of the aromatic smell. The reason assigned is not a very good one, for the smell of burning papyrus is no more aromatic than that of burning paper; but there is no doubt about the disappearance of other rolls. It was a long time before the learned world awoke

to the importance of Greek papyri, and for just a century the native diggers in the Fayûm whether for antiquities or *sebakh* went on destroying in undisturbed ignorance such papyri as they came across.

The new era began in 1877, when large finds of papyri were made by natives in the ruins of the ancient Arsinoë in the Fayûm, as well as at Henassieh (Heracleopolis) and Ashmunên (Hermopolis) further south. No record of the circumstances under which they were discovered was kept at the time, though there has been a good deal of discussion, necessarily somewhat unprofitable, on the subject. The Graeco-Roman site of Arsinoë consists of ruined buildings more or less covered by débris, with large rubbish mounds at intervals. There is not the least doubt that the Greek papyri were found, as they still are, scattered over a considerable area of the mounds; but the view of Karabaçek (*Denksch. K. Akad. Wien* 1882) probably has this amount of truth in it that large masses of papyri were found together in one or more of the rubbish mounds where the contents of some record office had been thrown away, as was the case at Oxyrhynchus. Most of the Arsinoë papyri found their way to Vienna or Berlin, a few to Oxford, Paris, London, and elsewhere; but for some time very little notice was taken of them, and Wilcken and Wessely were almost the only scholars who took advantage of the new material. The bulk of these early finds consisted indeed of Byzantine documents; and it is difficult for those who are accustomed to the startling and far-reaching discoveries in the last decade to realize that for several years prior to 1888 one of the burning questions in 'papyrology' was whether the beginning of the indiction year in Egypt depended on the rise of the Nile.

But though the first find of papyri at Arsinoë has been put in the shade by subsequent discoveries, it led to important consequences. The natives realized that the Fayûm, which hitherto had not been a very profitable field for antiquities, after all offered a lucrative sphere of work. With the value of papyri rapidly rising, owing to the increased influx of tourists after the British occupation and the competition of foreign buyers, the process of digging the ancient sites in the Fayûm proceeded merrily under the encouragement of the Museum authorities. The ablest and most enterprising of the Gizeh dealers, aided in those days by his now more ambitious and successful rival, received permission in two successive winters to excavate at Dimê (Socnopaei Nesus) on the north side of the lake. The difficulty of moving large blocks of stone prevented him from clearing out the temple, in which were found a number of late Ptolemaic votive statues (the largest is at the bottom of the Birket el Ḳurûn, but some of the others by their hideousness strike the attention of the visitor to the Graeco-Roman rooms at Gizeh); but in the houses he found

enormous quantities of papyrus rolls of the Roman period, which on account of their good preservation have made Dimê, considering its size, by far the richest site for papyri in Egypt. During this period, 1887–94, dealers' agents were busy at other sites, especially at Kôm Ushîm, where the houses in the suburbs are said to have been almost as fruitful as those at Dimê, and at the other places on the east side of the Fayûm, which had been deserted since the fourth century. The result was a large flow of papyri to the museums of Europe, principally Berlin, Vienna, and London, and a series of important publications. Prof. Flinders Petrie too in the course of his excavations on the Hawâra plateau in 1888–90 found some Greek papyri scattered about in the desert in the cemetery of Hawâra, and—what was much more important—by his discovery of early Ptolemaic mummies with papyrus cartonnage at Gurob reopened an avenue for obtaining Ptolemaic texts which had been forgotten since the days of Letronne. Since 1894 Fayûm papyri have become more scarce in the dealers' shops. Sporadic finds continue to be made in over-looked houses at Dimê, though part of what had been left was destroyed by a Copt who received permission to dig there, and being interested only in statuettes tore up the numerous papyrus rolls that he came across. Kôm el Fâris too still yields plenty of fragments every year, but since the recent discoveries at Ashmunên, especially that of the Bacchylides papyrus, that site attracts most notice from the native papyrus-seekers, and the Fayûm has fallen into comparative neglect.

Considering the wholesale plundering of Egyptian antiquities which has marked the last twenty years, and which now at the eleventh hour real attempts are being made to check, scholars may well be thankful that so many Greek papyri from the Fayûm have been safely housed in museums. But this must not blind them to the amount which in the Fayûm has been, and elsewhere may be, irrevocably lost. On this subject we, who have only too much reason to realize the extent of the mischief done by native digging in the Fayûm, and who perhaps better than others can appreciate the dangers and difficulties which attend the transference of so fragile a substance as papyrus from its resting-place in the ground to its ultimate home in a museum, may be permitted a few observations. The collections of Berlin and Vienna, great and representative as they are for the Roman and Byzantine periods, possess practically no Ptolemaic documents and hardly any literary fragments. No doubt this is partly due to the sites from which those collections are drawn. For literary fragments no town has ever been found at all comparable to Behnesa, and Fayûm villages are not the places in which to look for a classical library. No doubt too Ptolemaic papyri are scarce in Fayûm sites as elsewhere. But that

is far from being the whole explanation for the extreme rarity of these two classes of Greek papyri. If we, who have only had to glean the remains of the rich harvest gathered by our native predecessors, have been able to discover some Ptolemaic papyri and literary fragments in practically every town-site that we have excavated, what must have been found by those who had an untouched field to work upon? What has become of the papyri which were found in the houses of Ḳaṣr el Banât before we went there? To any one who knows the care necessary to extricate papyri from the earth intact and the habitual recklessness of the native in handling them afterwards, the answer is easy. There is unfortunately little doubt that quite half the papyri discovered by natives in the Fayûm since 1877 have perished altogether.

The third period in the history of papyrus digging in the Fayûm begins with our appearance upon the scene in the winter of 1895–96. The outlook at that time presented peculiar difficulties. Scientific excavations in Egypt have with very few exceptions been restricted to temples, palaces and tombs; and in proposing to dig Graeco-Roman towns we were practically breaking new ground, for which the experience of Egyptologists could not act as a guide. Still less was anything then known about the circumstances under which papyri were found, or the principles which should direct the excavator in selecting not only a good site for papyri but the precise places where he should dig. For it must be remembered that, though the ideal excavator of a town would no doubt begin at one end and clear out all the buildings down to the native rock until he emerged at the other, the actual excavator who has neither unlimited money nor even unlimited time at his command, cannot hope, unless he meets with extraordinary success, to dig out more than a comparatively few parts of any site which is large enough to be worth digging at all. The question of his success therefore, since no site with the possible exception of Dimê has papyri spread evenly over it, depends largely on his ability to select the right places for his trenches. If we had tried to clear away the rubbish mounds of Behnesa systematically we should have been excavating there still, and should have expended many thousands of pounds with results probably not much better than those which we obtained in four months with a few hundreds. But the principles of papyrus digging, for success in which luck is of course a necessary, though not the most important, factor, were naturally unknown to us in 1895.

In the choice of our site we were led to Ûmm el 'Atl in the north-east corner of the Fayûm, which seemed the most promising of the towns on the old Baḥr Wardan visited by Prof. Petrie in 1890, and which owing to its distance from cultivated land had not been much disturbed. But as it was difficult to begin work at so remote a site, where moreover it was quite uncertain that any papyri at

all were to be found, we decided to have a preliminary excavation at Kôm Ushim, a known source of papyri, situated on the edge of the cultivated land six miles from Ûmm el 'Atl. Under the circumstances the choice was as fortunate as could be expected. We identified Kôm Ushim as Karanis, the *provenance* of many papyri at Berlin, London, and Vienna, and added one to the three already uncovered inscriptions in the temple enclosure. But both town and cemetery had been too hopelessly plundered to justify a long stay at Kôm Ushim. Ûmm el 'Atl was more profitable. The identification of Bacchias laid at rest a long-standing dispute, and the find of over 4,000 tetradrachms (p. 40) was an unexpected piece of good fortune. But as regards papyri, Ûmm el 'Atl, judged even by the moderate standard which experience has led us to expect in Fayûm towns, was not very productive, being in that respect the poorest of the Fayûm sites at which we have dug on an extensive scale. Our hopes too of finding another cemetery of papyrus mummies like that at Gurob were not destined to be realized, for the Ptolemaic cemetery of Kôm Ushim escaped us and that of Ûmm el 'Atl had been plundered in ancient times.

After the conclusion of our excavations in the north-east of the Fayûm, we paid a visit to the western side of the province and fixed upon Ḳaṣr el Banât as the scene of our next year's work. But circumstances led us to alter our plans and to excavate in 1896–97 at Behnesa, and it was not until the winter of 1898–99 that we were able to resume our work in the Fayûm. The delay proved somewhat unfortunate, for in the interval the edge of the cultivation, which in the early part of 1896 was more than a mile from Ḳaṣr el Banât, had crept up to the site, and diggers for antiquities or *sebakh* had made havoc with half of it. The remaining half however was fairly productive; one house in particular yielding a large number of documents, many of them in a very fair state of preservation. Besides Ḳaṣr el Banât, two other sites were also investigated. At one of these, Wadfa, we obtained enough evidence to identify it; the other, Harit, was somewhat less rich than Ḳaṣr el Banât, though having been less plundered it ultimately produced about the same amount of papyri. Both these sites were much better than Ûmm el 'Atl, but in our search for papyrus mummies we were again disappointed, though we came to the very verge of success. At Harit there was a considerable unplundered cemetery containing such mummies, but the tombs were much affected by damp and the papyrus had all decayed. We resolved however to make another attempt, and in the following winter (1899–1900) we chose the south-west of the Fayûm as the scene of excavations on behalf of the University of California. Here we were fortunate enough to find an important site, Ûmm el Baragât, which had escaped the notice of the dealers. The temple enclosure and town produced

as many papyri as Kaṣr el Banât and Harit combined, and somewhat superior in quality, while in the cemetery not only did we at last succeed in obtaining the long-wished-for papyrus mummies of the earlier Ptolemaic period, but fortune, to make amends for previous disappointments, bestowed upon us a large collection of later Ptolemaic papyri, found in a novel and unexpected manner inside the mummies of crocodiles.

The arrangement of ancient Fayûm villages is naturally very much the same. There is always a small temple, of stone at Dimê, Kôm Ushim, and Kaṣr Kurûn, of brick at Ûmm el 'Atl, Kaṣr el Banât, Harit, Wadfa, and Ûmm el Baragât. Sometimes, as at Kaṣr el Banât and Harit, the temple stands by itself a little outside the town; sometimes, as at Dimê, Kôm Ushim, and Ûmm el Baragât, it is inside a large walled enclosure containing subordinate chapels or houses of the priests. The crocodile god Sebek was the nome god of the Fayûm, and most of the temples were dedicated to him under some form, e. g. Socnopaeus at Socnopaei Nesus (B. G. U. i. 18, &c.), Suchus (probably) at Euhemeria (p. 45), Sokanobkoneus at Bacchias[1] (Pap. xviii), Seknebtunis[2] at Tebtunis, Petesuchus[3] at Karanis (p. 30). With Sebek was often associated Isis and other *σύνναοι θεοί*, e. g. Isis Nepherses[4] at Socnopaei Nesus (B. G. U. 296. 14) and at Euhemeria (p. 45), Pnepheros[5] at Karanis (p. 30). At Dimê there was also a temple to Isis Ṣononaës, Harpocrates and Premarres (Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, Inscr. 141); and at Tebtunis, besides the *λόγιμον ἱερόν* of Seknebtunis, was a smaller temple of Sarapis, Isis and Osiris, a common triad in the Graeco-Roman period. All these temples date, so far as can be judged, from the Ptolemaic period; and it is noteworthy that in nearly all of them or in their enclosures papyri of the Ptolemaic period, both Greek and demotic, have been found, but hardly anywhere else in Fayûm town sites. From Dimê no Ptolemaic papyri seem to have reached Berlin, Vienna, or London, but two years ago we bought a find which obviously came from the temple there, and consisted of nearly a hundred well-preserved second-century B. C. demotic or Greek rolls concerning the priests. The Greek documents (about fifteen in number) are now in the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney and will be published next year; the demotic are in the possession of Mr. F. Ll. Griffith. At Karanis, which site continued to be inhabited in Byzantine times, the temple was covered over by mounds of later rubbish and yielded no papyri

[1] *Σοκανοβκονεύς*, a compound of *Σοκ* (Sebek) + *ανοβ* (Anubis) + *κοννευς* (meaning obscure) according to Prof. Spiegelberg, to whom we are indebted for the elucidation of these new names of deities.

[2] I. e. 'Sebek, lord of Tunis' (Spiegelberg).

[3] On Petesuchus see Wilcken, *Aeg. Zeitschr.* 1883, p. 164.

[4] Nepherses = *nfr st* Isis 'with the beautiful throne' (Krebs, *Aeg. Zeitschr.* 1893, p. 32).

[5] *Πνεφερῶς* is compounded of *p*, the article, and *n'fr-ḥr*, 'with a beautiful face,' an attribute of Egyptian gods, e. g. Ptah and Atum (Spiegelberg).

having any connexion with the priests; but at Bacchias, where the temple had been partly cleared previously, we found some Ptolemaic and Augustan papyri, as also at Euhemeria, where two-thirds of the temple had been dug out before our arrival. At Theadelphia the temple (which was unusually small) had already been excavated, but in some adjoining houses we found several Ptolemaic documents; and at Tebtunis, though the temple itself produced no antiquities of any kind, the priests' houses yielded, besides a large quantity of later papyri, some Greek and many more demotic documents of the Ptolemaic period. The excessive rarity in museums of Ptolemaic papyri from Fayûm sites is largely due to the fact that nearly all the temples in the Fayûm have been more or less completely plundered by natives in search of statues and terracottas. Plans are given on Plates II and III of the temples of Karanis and Bacchias, two of the best preserved and the only two which were worth clearing. The plans of those at Euhemeria and Theadelphia were very similar. A noticeable feature in these late Fayûm temples is the occurrence of chambers with no visible means of entrance, though a parallel may be found in the much earlier temple discovered by Schweinfurth to the north of Dimê. Perhaps these were store-rooms, if we may judge by the similar instances in the houses (p. 24).

Of the sites described in the present volume, Ûmm el 'Atl, Ḳaṣr el Banât and Harit are all about the same size, and, like Dimê, cover an area not exceeding 500 metres by 300. Kôm Ushîm is larger, but that site, like Ûmm el Baragât, continued to be inhabited in later times, while the other sites were abandoned in the fourth century. Wadfa, on the other hand, is much smaller. While Dimê was laid out on a symmetrical plan, the houses being on either side of the stone *dromos* which led through the middle of the town up to the temple, in the sites which we have excavated the houses are grouped together not much more regularly than in a modern Egyptian village. They were constructed with unbaked bricks, generally large and solid. In the size of the bricks, the regularity of the courses, and the accuracy of the corners, the buildings of the Ptolemaic and Roman period offer a marked contrast to those of Byzantine and Arab times, a contrast which is nowhere better shown than at Ûmm el Baragât, where the south side of the site is Roman, the north Arabic. Stone doorways were occasionally found in the houses of the better class, especially at Ûmm el Baragât. Probably some of these were public buildings; but we gained little definite information about the distinction between public and private buildings except in the case of temples. The houses consisted of one or occasionally two stories above ground. At Ûmm el 'Atl and Ûmm el Baragât underground cellars were very common; they were much less so at Ḳaṣr el Banât and Harit. The roofs were made of reeds plastered over with

mud and laid on palm logs. At Harit, where the houses in the centre of the site are better preserved than anywhere else in the Fayûm except perhaps at Dimê, the ceilings of the lower stories were found in some cases intact, but they had generally collapsed, even where the walls of the upper story were partly standing; and at Ûmm el 'Atl and Ḳaṣr el Banât the surface of the mounds was within a few feet of the ground level. The walls of all but the poorest houses were plastered inside, but traces of painting were rare. In every site were found large walled enclosures, perhaps used as markets, which were generally filled up with sand. A feature of Ûmm el 'Atl and Ḳaṣr el Banât was rows of small chambers about a square metre in size, apparently used as store rooms.

The method of digging for papyri in a town site presents some parallels to that of gold-mining. The gold-seeker follows a vein of quartz, while the papyrus-digger has to follow a stratum, or vein, of what the natives call *afsh*,—one of those convenient 'blank-cheque' words which in the limited vocabulary of the fellahin can take a variety of meanings. The gold-digger does not look for gold where there is no quartz, and similarly the papyrus-seeker may practically disregard any other kind of earth than *afsh*. Objects of stone, wood, or pottery he may find elsewhere, but without *afsh* he will hardly ever find papyrus. It is the more difficult to describe *afsh* in general terms because, although we can from experience to some extent state the conditions under which antiquities, and papyri in particular, are as a rule found in ancient towns, we are not able in most cases to explain how these conditions arose. *Afsh* consists of earth mixed with little bits of twig or straw; and the depth of a stratum of it may vary from a few inches to several metres. Good *afsh* must not be too hard, for coagulation is somehow fatal to the preservation of papyri nor yet too soft, for then it tends to become *sebakh*, i.e. fine, powdery earth in which any fragile substance such as papyrus has decomposed, and which on account of its nitrous properties is the best kind of earth for manure, though, since all the earth of ancient sites contains nitre in some degree, *sebakhîn* do not limit themselves to one kind of soil. No doubt in a general way *afsh* is to be explained as house-rubbish, in the sense of what was rubbish at the time the house was being used, but how *afsh* comes to lie in the particular ways in which it is found is not in our power to explain. We can only state the main conditions under which it occurs in Fayûm sites.

From the point of view of excavating for papyri a town site may be divided into three classes: (1) rubbish mounds pure and simple which cover no buildings; (2) remains of buildings which are partly filled up with or buried in rubbish; (3) buildings which were never used as places for throwing rubbish, but

have simply collapsed and are filled up by their own débris and wind-blown sand. *Afsh* may be found in all three, but as regards the completeness and value of the accompanying papyri the three classes are arranged in an ascending scale. The majority of rubbish mounds pure and simple are in any site quite useless, for most of them are sure to consist of ashes, *sebakh*, potsherds, or at any rate earth which has not got *afsh*. In the case of large towns, such as Oxyrhynchus and Arsinoë, those rubbish mounds which had *afsh* were extremely productive in papyri; at Oxyrhynchus there was practically nothing but rubbish mounds to dig, the buildings having been nearly all destroyed. But in Fayûm villages, mere rubbish mounds (called by the natives *kôm*) are rarely worth digging. Papyrus scraps may be found, but in so mutilated a condition that, unless they have some special interest, the work of clearing a rubbish mound is very unremunerative. For a description of a successful excavation of this kind, see *Arch. Rep.*, 1897, pp. 7–8. In the Fayûm the excavator is concerned mainly with classes (2) and (3), and the best finds of papyri are to be made in houses of class (3). Here the *afsh* layer is naturally on the floor and susceptible of an easy explanation. The papyri and other objects are found as they were left when the occupants of the houses abandoned them, the walls having partially fallen in before the objects in the houses had been carried off or destroyed. The houses at Dimê are of this kind. After two or three metres of sand there comes the débris from fallen roof and walls, and underneath this the papyri, which in that site are remarkable for their profusion and excellent state of preservation. That the Dimê houses were so rich is due to the remoteness of the site, which, when the canal supplying it with water failed, was clearly deserted in a hurry and left far in the desert. In other sites our experience of houses which on account of their depth and of their being filled up with sand most closely resembled those of Dimê has not on the whole been at all favourable. At Harit in particular the well-preserved houses, filled up with a wind-blown mixture of sand and ashes, had no *afsh* layer at all at the bottom, and if any papyrus fragments were found they were in the filling as they had been blown in.

Practically all our own finds of papyri were in buildings of class (2), which is much the most comprehensive, and may be divided into (*a*) houses in which the objects found, though not necessarily on the floor, had a connexion with the particular building, and (*b*) houses in which the objects seem to have no such connexion, but merely to have been thrown away there after the house had gone to ruin. It is often very difficult to draw this distinction; and there is an infinite number of gradations in class (2), from buildings which approximate to those in class (3) down to others in which the objects are so mixed up that

the mound may be treated as if it contained merely rubbish. At the same time for practical purposes, the distinction between (*a*) and (*b*), where it can be drawn with certainty, is of some importance, not only because good finds of complete papyri are found in (*a*) while the papyri found in (*b*) tend to be much more fragmentary, but because in the case of houses which are not filled up with extraneous rubbish the evidence of dated papyri is a much surer indication of the date of other objects found with them.

The general characteristics of Fayûm papyri are too well known to need description here. The best town sites in the Fayûm had been plundered before we came; and the selection of texts printed or described in the present volume from sites which were in no case very rich, naturally cannot be compared either in quantity or quality with those which come from Dimê. As might be expected, they tend to run in grooves, certificates for work done on the embankments and receipts for poll-tax or custom duties being extremely common. But besides the geographical information gained from them, the papyri of the present volume serve to supplement on many points, especially with regard to taxation, the knowledge derived from Fayûm papyri already published, and supply a good deal of new and interesting evidence for the history of the period. Our excavations moreover, though the discovery of papyri was of course our chief object, have not been confined to that alone, witness the large find of tetradrachms at Ûmm el 'Atl, the well-dated series of Ptolemaic pottery from Harit, and the numerous common domestic objects (see Plates XV–XVII), which bring home more clearly than elaborate ornaments the continuity of life in ancient and modern Egypt. But greater perhaps than the direct results of these two seasons' work were the indirect. It was the discovery of the principles of *afsh* at Ûmm el 'Atl in 1896, which enabled us in 1897, amid the hundreds of acres covered by the ruins of Behnesa, to select those mounds which contained papyri, and to find the 'Logia' on the second day of our excavations; and it was the knowledge of Ptolemaic pottery acquired at Harit that led us in the following winter to the temple and great Ptolemaic cemetery of Ûmm el Baragât, by far the most productive site for Ptolemaic papyri that has yet been found.

PART II. THE EXCAVATIONS.

I. Kôm Ushîm (Karanis).

A. The Town.

The remains of Karanis cover a large oval mound lying north-west and south-east, about two miles north-north-west of the hamlet of Ḳasr, four and a half miles west-north-west of the village of Tamia, and eight miles north of Senûres as the crow flies. The mound is primarily a natural lump in the rocky ridge, which here bounds for some miles the northern limit of Fayûm cultivation, rising gradually from the lake-basin and falling abruptly on the north to rise again in a second ridge. On the extreme west and the extreme east of the mound top, however, there is an accumulation of household rubbish and débris of constructions which considerably increases the natural elevation. The high mound itself is not large, but the town was prolonged eastwards from its base over the lower ground for some distance, and to a less extent on the west also. North of the mound lies a deep hollow, beyond which rise rocky shelves, on which the citizens of Karanis built, or in which they excavated, the tombs of their families.

The condition in which we found the site made it appear not worth while to try to recover the plan of its streets and *insulae*. But the general arrangement of the town is clear. In the middle of the southern slope of the mound, looking towards the Fayûm lands, we have the chief temple buildings communicating on the north through an inscribed propylon, with a large open space occupying about the centre of the mound. This space can hardly be other than the *agora* or market-place. No other stone-built temple existed in the town; and if other shrines there were, they were but small and constructed, like the houses, of unburnt brick. East and south-east of the market-place rises a high accumulation of brick buildings, evidently dwelling-houses, piled one on the other and divided by narrow lanes as in a modern Arab town. On the

highest part of the south-east mound is a tract of open ground, evidently used for the throwing out of household refuse; and low down on the southern face the diggers for papyrus or *sebakh* have laid bare some chambers more spacious, and some walls more solid, than are usual in dwelling-houses of the period. It is probable that here stood the municipal and other public edifices, facing towards the Fayûm. Returning to the market-place, we see that on the high ground to the west the house-remains are less crowded together and of better quality. Almost all round the outer edge of the mound is disposed a fringe of rubbish heaps, and on the steep slopes below them signs of houses begin again, fading away in detached villas and open-walled enclosures in the plain. At the extreme south-west corner stand remains of a high, solidly constructed brick edifice, another public office or such building; but over the rest of this part of the site there is nothing to distinguish one set of brick chambers from another.

We found all the shallower parts of the site so thoroughly rifled that, in digging for rooms, we directed our main efforts to mining the steep western face of the mound, where houses of good class underlie the refuse 'shoots.' Owing, however, to the great mass of loose superincumbent stuff we were never able to clear a complete house, but had to be content with exploring the outlying chambers only. In a vaulted room low down the slope Pap. cxl. was found on Dec. 27, and in a chamber adjacent (apparently part of the same house) a coarse jar came to light on Jan. 1, containing ninety-one Roman tetradrachms. The same house yielded next day many broken scraps of papyrus, and a number of small objects, *e.g.* a terra-cotta head of good Graeco-Roman style, a bone ring inscribed with numbers similar to dice and evidently used in some game of hazard, beads, fragments of blue Roman ware, &c. This, however, was the only really profitable house out of all that we tried on the west slope, while the crown of the mound both west and north, tested on our return at the end of February, proved quite unproductive, the chambers being all small and mean.

Low down on the northern slope we made a trial in February, and found well-built houses, but apparently of very late period. One was adorned with extremely rude frescoes of Coptic saints. No papyrus rewarded our efforts, either here or upon the east slope, where the remains of constructions proved to be exceedingly shallow, and rather out- or farm-buildings than dwelling-houses. Arab report said that the outlying eastern suburb had been very productive of papyrus to the native diggers a year or two before our arrival, and this statement is probably true; for the clean well-built chambers in that quarter had been dug out more thoroughly than would have been the case had not the fellahin met with great encouragement.

There were hardly any houses left to open on the crown of the eastern half of the mound, but we tried this region here and there in the hope of finding stray documents to confirm the identification of the site. The large refuse-tract at the south-east corner proved most productive, for in it was found Papyrus xxxvii, and a number of inscribed jars. These last lay *in situ* as originally buried in the rubbish at a late period; they were found placed side by side obliquely in a shallow trench, which had been filled in to form a primitive wine-cellar of constant temperature.

Nowhere on the southern or Fayûm face of the mound did we find any papyrus. A set of Roman vessels of green bottle-glass, almost if not quite unused, was discovered in a jar, together with two unused clay lamps, in a corner of a small chamber at the eastern end of the slope—probably a small store or shop. The houses which we opened farther to the west yielded only miscellaneous domestic articles in wood or ware. A large chamber just south-east of the temple buildings was found to be plastered and painted with frescoes, even ruder than those on the north of the mound.

Excavating houses proved, in short, so unproductive of result on this site that we did not continue long to waste energy or money upon it. By the time that the temple had been explored and the cemeteries tested we had gained the objects for which we had come to Kôm Ushim: we had completed the identification of the site with Karanis and collected a reliable body of men with which to work at Ûmm el 'Atl. As the houses on the last-named mound were found both better preserved from antiquity and less disturbed by modern spoliation than at Kôm Ushîm, while they date from the same period and belong to the same civilization, it will be best to reserve general remarks with respect to their character and arrangement for the second section.

Both the objects found in the houses at Kôm Ushîm and all the sherds, glass fragments, &c., to be seen on the mound are either late Ptolemaic, Roman, or Byzantine. Not a single piece of evidence ever turned up to prove that Karanis existed in Pharaonic times. Although pieces of syenite, granite, and marble are to be seen frequently, and the main part of the temple is built of stone, no trace of hieroglyphic writing was found. The amount of accumulation on the mounds indicates a period of inhabitation not long-continued; and we must conclude that that period began when Greek influence was fairly established in the Fayûm, and ended with the relapse of the northern region into marsh in the unquiet times which marked the close of Byzantine, and the beginning of Arab rule in Egypt.

B. The Temple of Pnepheros and Petesuchos.

The only clearly defined temple site occupies the centre of the southern face of the mound. It is not alluded to by Prof. Petrie (*Illahun*, p. 32), and therefore in 1890 must still have been sunk below the refuse-heaps. When I visited Kôm Ushîm in 1895 *sebakhîn* were working constantly at these heaps, and they had revealed the tops of three inscribed doorways, as well as the eastern façade of the main temple building. The Bedawi guard of the mound said that the 'written stones' had first come to light two years before.

It will be seen from the plan (Plate II) that the temple itself is a small oblong structure, facing almost due east. The arrangement of its chambers resembles that of the better-preserved temple of the same period at Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn at the north-western corner of the Fayûm (Plate X[a]; cf. plans in Belzoni, Pl. XXXII, and vol. ii. pp. 154 sqq., and *Descr. de l'Égypte*, Pl. XXX, and vol. iv. pp. 437 sqq.). The portal, inscribed with a dedication to the gods Pnepheros and Petesuchos in the reign of the Emperor Nero, gives access to a long *prosekos* chamber. This is succeeded by a second of much smaller dimensions, and this again by the shrine, at the innermost end of which remains a megalithic platform with a cavity underneath, entered from one of the southern side-chambers. This curious feature finds a parallel in the apparently walled-up chamber at the back of the shrine at Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn; and it is far from impossible that both that chamber and this cavity at Karanis were designed for the concealment of an oracular priest. The only other possible supposition is that these secret chambers were treasuries; but in view of the small size of the Karanis cavity, this explanation is the less probable. In the latter we found, among the sand which had filtered down through wide chinks in the platform above, a small object in dark-blue glazed ware shaped to resemble the heart hieroglyph *ab*, and a mutilated stone statuette of Roman period, bearing traces of gilding. No other small objects, except one or two rude domestic utensils of the early Arab period, were found in any part of the temple.

It will be seen also from the plan that the central chambers are flanked on each side by a series of small rooms entered from the passages which run along inside the outer wall, and are themselves entered from the central chambers. There are also flights of low stairs on either hand conducting to the roof or an upper story: the lowest courses of the latter remain at the south-east corner, where the roof of the lower chambers is intact. The north-east corner we did not think it worth while to explore, having found nothing whatever in any of the lateral rooms or passages, which we cleared to the pavement. The two

small rooms at the extreme south-east were found complete with vaulted roofs intact, and half filled with fine wind-blown sand; the other chambers, small and large, were blocked up mainly with the stones fallen from their own upper courses, from the roof or from the upper story, and over these was a wind-blown deposit of sand some three feet thick. But immediately on the pavement lay everywhere a thin layer of domestic rubbish, demonstrating that the building had been used as a dwelling at a remote period by Bedawin. To that period belong perhaps the ruined brick structures indicated inside the temple on the plan.

The main building is all constructed of blocks of a local limestone, well fitted and mortared. Those forming the exterior face of the outer wall measure 2′ 1″ × 10″ and have the usual Egyptian batter. There is no ornamentation surviving except a row of *uraei* forming a frieze over the head of a niche on the south of the second *prosekos* chamber; and the only architectural details of any interest are the window-slits in the outer wall which admitted a little light into the side passages.

A long niche, 2′ 6″ in height, with vaulted roof, will be remarked in the plan on the south side of the second *prosekos*. It has a wooden bar fixed across the floor and is blackened with smoke. Evidently the Bedawin have used it as a furnace; but for what purpose it was originally designed, with its two inner recesses, I cannot conjecture.

The walls of the first *prosekos* show traces of a stucco coating. The outer gateway had been restored in antiquity. We searched under its threshold, and for some distance up the line of the axis of the first *prosekos*, for a foundation deposit; but, although we laid bare the virgin sand, we found no trace of what we sought.

Guarding the portal on the outside are two small *couchant* lions in sandstone of coarse work. That on the south has an inscribed base (see below, Inscr. IV *a*). The dimensions of these lions are 4′ 8″ tip of nose to rump; 1′ across the ears; 2′ 2½″ crest to fore-paws. The pedestals on which they lie are 1′ 2″ in height.

The plan shows to the east and south-east of the temple very scanty remains of walls of brick and stone which may pertain to its unpaved outer courts: but it is not unlikely that they represent civic structures. The inscribed propylon on the north (*v.* plan) seems to give access to the whole group; and the inscribed gateway on the south-east leads off into a distinct brick building, now filled with tightly packed domestic rubbish of Byzantine period, among which fragments of late papyrus are found frequently. The inscription on the lintel shows this building to have been a *deipneterion* or civic banqueting-hall. It is

probable that small lions flanked this gateway also, for two rough uninscribed specimens in sandstone were found hard by, together with a small and rude crio-sphinx and other stones, set upright in a ring, probably to form an Arab hearth.

We cut trenches through these outer structures, but found nothing of any interest in them, beyond a few papyrus scraps near the surface in one of the southernmost rooms. The buildings are bounded on the south by a street of houses, some of whose chambers we cleared for the usual reward of domestic articles.

The north propylon has been restored—a fact evident even without the witness of the inscription that it bears. The wings of the structure are of mud brick and the whole is much ruined. It had no flanking lions. The inscribed lintel is of a coarse nummulitic limestone, much weathered, and alone among the lintels in this group of buildings shows the disk and wings, which appear above all the principal doors of the Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn temple.

C. *The Inscriptions.*

I. A fallen block, which has formed the lower half of a lintel, found lying on its face just south of the propylon. Very fine and regular lettering.

[illegible]
Τ ΟΥΧΟ ΤΟΠΡΟΠΥΛΟΝΠΝΕΦΕΡΩΤΙΚΑΙ
ΠΕΤΕΣΟΥΧΩΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΣΥΝΝΑΟΙΣΘΕΟΙΣ
ΜΕΓΑΛΟΙΣΜΕΓΑΛΟΙΣΥΠΕΡΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΗΣ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣΚΑΙΤΩΝΤΕΚΝΩΝΕΥΧΗΝ
LΙΘ ΜΕΣΟΡΗ ΚΖ

τῶν] τέκνων . . . . [Πε]-
τ[εσ]ούχο[υ] τὸ πρόπυλον Πνεφερῶτι καὶ
Πετεσούχῳ καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς
μεγάλοις μεγάλοις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς
γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων εὐχήν.
(ἔτους) ιθʹ, Μεσορὴ κζʹ.

It is much to be regretted that our diligent search for the upper part of this lintel was unsuccessful; for this inscription, judged by the style of its lettering, is certainly not later than the beginning of the first century A.D., and more

probably belongs to the first century B.C. It is the earliest record on the site, and would have given probably a Ptolemaic date for the first construction of a gate to the temple buildings.

II. On the lintel of the main gate of the temple itself. The lettering is heavy but careful. The emperor's first name has been erased in line 1, and the end of line 4 from ΓΖ and all line 5 are cut over an erasure.

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹϹΕΒΑϹΤΟΥ
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟϹΚΑΙΤΟΥΠΑΝΤΟϹΑΥΤΟΥΟΙΚΟΥ
ΠΝΕΦΕΡΩΤΙΚΑΙΠΕΤΕϹΟΥΧΩΘΕΟΙϹΜΕΓΙϹΤΟΙϹΕΠΕΙΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ
ΟΥΗϹΤΙΝΟΥΤΟΥΚΡΑΤΙϹΤΟΥΗΓΕΜΟΝΟϹΓΖΙΕΡΟΥ|||||||||||
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹϹΕΒΑϹΤΟΥΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ ΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟϹΕΠΕΙΦΙΓ

'Υπὲρ . . . . . . Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτοῦ οἴκου
Πνεφερῶτι καὶ Πετεσούχῳ θεοῖς μεγίστοις ἐπ{ε}ὶ 'Ιουλίου
Οὐηστίνου τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος (ἔτους) ζ' ἱεροῦ
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ [Α]ὐτοκράτορος, 'Επείφι ιγ'.

This inscription was originally a homage to the Emperor Nero, but Νέρωνος has been erased in lines 1 and 4 and over the last erasure ΙΕΡΟΥ = *divi* has been cut to strengthen the apparent reference to Claudius. This reading was confirmed by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, who revisited the site in 1900. The praefect, Julius Vestinus, is known from B. G. U. 112, Ox. Pap. II. 250. 2, &c.

III. Lintel of the portal of the south-east building. Third line almost entirely and fourth line entirely defaced.

ΥΠΕΡΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟϹΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹΟΥΕϹΠΑϹΙΑΝΟΥϹΕΒΑϹΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΥΠΑΝΤΟϹ
ΑΥΤΟΥΟΙΚΟΥΠΝΕΦΕΡΩΤΙΚΑΙΠΕΤΕϹΟΥΧΩΙΚΑΙΤΟΙϹϹΥΝΝΑΟΙϹΘΕΟΙϹΜΕΓΙϹΤΟΙϹ
ΤΟΔΙΠΝΗΤΗΡΙΟΝΙΓ ΤΡΑΠ.ΙΙΑΕΙΦΡΕΛΩΑΥΟΑΡΧΟ.Ο.ΟΥΛ........ΟΜΙ.ΧΡΥ.
ΕΛΥ....Γ..Ν..ΕΥΞΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΤΑΤΙΩΝΑΙ.ΘΗΙ¯ΤΥΧΗΙΙ Ε..Ι.Λ.ΠΕΙΦ.ΙΕ

'Υπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς
αὐτοῦ οἴκου Πνεφερῶτι καὶ Πετεσούχῳ καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς μεγίστοις
τὸ διπνητήριον ιγ' . . . .
. . . . ἡγουμένου . . . ἀ[γα]θῇ τυχῇ . . . . 'Ε]πείφ[ι] ιε' .

IV. Lintel of the north gate. Much defaced by the scaling of the stone. Above the inscription a disk with wings.

ΥΠΕΡΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟϹΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹΜΑΡΚΟΥΑΥΡΙΙ ΙΟΥΙ ·Λ·ΟΔΟΥ
ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΥΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹΤΟΥΚΥΡΙΟΥΕΥΤΥΧΟΥϹΕΥϹΕΒΟΥϹϹΕΒΑϹΤΟ
LĀΕΠΕΙΦ. ΠΕΤΕϹΟΥΧΩΘΕΩΜΕΓΑΛΩΚΑΙΠΝΕΦΕΡΩΤΙΤΟΠ ΟΠΥΛΑ
ΧΡΟΝΩ . . . . Ν . ΝΩΡΘΩϹΕΝΕΚΤΟΥΙΔΙΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟ
ΕΠΑΓΑΘΩΙ ♁

Ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρη[λ]ίου [Κ]ομόδου
Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Εὐτυχοῦς Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστο[ῦ]
(ἔτους) α΄, Ἐπεὶφ . Πετεσούχῳ θεῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ Πνεφερῶτι τὸ π[ρ]οπύλα[ιον
χρόνῳ [διαφθαρὲ]ν [ἀ]νώρθωσεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου Ἀπολλώνιος
ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ.

Record of the restoration of the propylon in the reign of Commodus at the sole charge of a certain Apollonius, known from the following inscription to have been a *σιτολόγος* or superintendent of granaries at Karanis. There is a difficulty about the year. In Egypt the year of Commodus is regularly reckoned from the accession of M. Aurelius, and if [Κ]*ομόδου* is right in line 1 the number of the year is probably Λ not Α. The surface of the stone has now worn away, so that the reading could not be verified in 1900.

IV (*a*). Base of the southern lion, flanking the main gate of the temple. Lettering coarse, and of the same period as IV.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟϹϹΙΤ·
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΕΠΑΓΑΘ·

Ἀπολλώνιος σιτ(ολόγος)
ἀνέθηκε ἐπ' ἀγαθ(ῷ).

The history of these temple buildings would appear, therefore, to be this. The first foundation was under Ptolemaic rule, probably soon after the reclamation of the Fayûm. The shrine arose in honour of the local gods Petesuchos and Pnepheros (cf. p. 22 and B. G. U. 707), with whom were associated, according to custom, under a general title the other gods of Egypt. A propylon was added to the precinct on the north under one of the latest Ptolemies, and after two centuries it was restored in the reign of Commodus at the charge of one Apollonius, a patriotic citizen, who at the same time adorned the main temple portal with couching lions, and (if we may judge by the similarity of the restored

mortar and stone work) repaired also the portal itself. The inscription on the lintel is not sufficient to warrant us in ascribing this portal to the reign of Nero. It is rarely the case in Egypt that inscriptions and decorations are of exactly the same period as the fabric on which they are carved. In this case the fabric is almost certainly Ptolemaic. Meanwhile, in Vespasian's reign, a banqueting-hall had been erected at the south-east corner of the precinct. In the Christian period the main temple building evidently became a dwelling-place, and probably was deserted and silted up by the time of the Arab conquest.

II. Ûmm el 'Atl.

A. The Town.

The Ptolemaic and Roman town of Bacchias lay almost wholly on the northernmost of the two elevations which go by the name of Ûmm el 'Atl. The southern mound appears to have been little inhabited until the Arab period, and then by men engaged in burning the stones of the old town for lime. The house-remains on this part of the site are of the poorest quality, very shallow and very sparse, while neither in the great rubbish-heap in the centre nor in any of the chambers did we find any papyrus earlier than very late Byzantine. Indeed almost without exception the script upon these fragments was Arabic.

Bacchias, therefore, may be taken to be represented only by the remains north of the well-defined watercourse which divides the mound. This northern mound attains a much higher elevation than the southern, rising, like Kôm Ushim, gradually from the south, but falling steeply on the north. Also, like Kôm Ushim, it is in the main a natural elevation, a high lump in a long ridge trending north-east and south-west. Only on the extreme north-west and north-east is there any superposition of newer houses on older: the site cannot have been inhabited for more than a few centuries.

The mounds lie out in the desert about five miles as the crow flies north-north-east of Tamia, and three miles from the northern edge of the newly reclaimed land. About three-quarters of a mile to the eastward passes the great caravan track from Cairo and Dahshûr to the Fayûm. White posts here and there in the desert indicate that a survey has been made with a view to conducting water again to this part of the desert, a little within the line of the ancient canal bed explored by Prof. Petrie in 1890 (*v. Illahun*, p. 30). Within this reclamation Ûmm el 'Atl will eventually be included.

The houses are disposed round a central temple, whose remains, much ruined though they are, are conspicuous still from all points. The main streets appear to run towards this building, and the houses lie roughly in line with it. On three sides they approach the temple walls, but on the fourth, the east, where is the portal of the sacred building, lies a considerable open space which may safely be assumed to have been the *agora*. The best-built parts of the town lie north-west of the temple, both on the lower ground and on the southern face of the high ridge which, divided only by one pass taken by the desert road, skirts the north of the mound. This elevation to the north is due doubtless both at Kôm Ushîm and Ûmm el 'Atl to the same cause—namely, the banking up of sand by the prevailing south and south-westerly winds.

B. The Temple of Sokanobkonneus.

The temple of Bacchias was a less sumptuous edifice than that of Karanis, for no part of it except its portal is of stone. Its walls of unbaked brick are, however, singularly well laid, correctly squared and massive, the external ones being uniformly nine feet thick. It is also less well preserved than the Karanis shrine. The portal has collapsed altogether, and the walls are nowhere more than double the height of an average man, standing on the floor-level. In the general arrangement of its main halls it will be observed that it coincides with the temple of Kôm Ushîm, and its orientation, though less accurate, aims at the same direction. But at Ûmm el 'Atl the side-rooms do not open out of passages running inside the outer walls, but lead for the most part out of the central halls or one another. In several instances (e. g. rooms *D*, *E*, *O*, *P*, and *Q*) the chambers now surviving had no doorway, but were entered from the top: a stairway is preserved only in room *P*. Nowhere is there any relic of a roof, and it is impossible to say whether an upper story ever existed: certainly no stairs, which could have led to one, survive.

The bricks, of which the east wall are composed, are unusually large—1′ 3″ × 6″ × 4¾″: those of the inner walls are of the more usual Roman dimensions. We searched carefully for an inscription among the fallen ruins of the portal, but in vain, although we cleared a considerable space to the eastward of the temple. We found indeed a long block, which appeared to have served for the lintel, but it was blank. The god to whom the shrine was dedicated must be inferred from the documents found in the temple. His name occurs on Pap. xviii (cf. cxxxvii) as Sokanobkonneus, and he must be taken to be a local variety of the same god who gave his name to Soknopaei Nesos (cf. p. 22).

The date of the foundation of the temple must be determined by that of the town to which it belonged. The existence of Bacchias in the third century B.C. is proved by the mention of it in the Petrie papyri; and the occurrence of second and first century B.C. fragments within the temple itself (e.g. xviii and cxliv) throws the beginning of the building back well behind Roman times: in all probability it is not divided by many years from that of the Karanis shrine.

There was a certain amount of hard-packed Arab rubbish in the first hall *A*, but none in the side-rooms, filled with the ruins of their own walls and roofs, and none perceptible in the two inner central halls, which had, however, been excavated before our arrival. These facts, taken together with the survival of far more objects of antiquity in this than in the Kôm Ushim temple, go to prove that the Ûmm el 'Atl shrine was never used as a dwelling-place for any long period.

To take its halls and rooms in order:—

The portal was apparently double, for a large block of the central post still survives *in situ*. A stone foundation underlies this block and the lateral brick walls to a depth of eight feet. No trace of door-flaps remains, nor was anything found hereabouts except a few scraps of papyrus just east of the portal.

The first *prosekos* hall *A*, filled, as has been said, with packed Arab rubbish, underlying the ruins of its roof and overlying a rough stone pavement, yielded a little papyrus, including cxxxvii and cxxxviii, found on the pavement about the middle of the south side. The walls are in more ruinous condition than others in this temple, broken down to only 5′ to 7′ in height. Pieces of palm-wood beams survived.

The second *prosekos* hall *B* and the shrine *C* were excavated two or three years ago by a Senûres Greek in the course of a week's hasty plundering. He is reported to have found no papyrus, but several broken terra-cotta images. The walls are well preserved to a height of twelve feet, and those of the shrine have been plastered with a fine stucco. No architectural or other features of interest have escaped time and the Greek.

On the north side of the temple, the westernmost side-chamber *D* was entered by a stair from the passage *G*. It was full of fallen bricks and light drift sand overlying hard yellow sand. Among the surface débris we found many objects, evidently thrown away, for example, fragments of painted papyrus cartonnage, such as is used in the decoration of mummies. These were composed in part of pieces of Ptolemaic documents, unfortunately too small and in too bad condition to be of any value. Ornate black pottery of late Ptolemaic period (Pl. XVI, figs. 14, 15), a bronze bell, fragments of amphorae with handle-stamps in Latin, and a broken wooden shrine with bronze fittings, were also found here.

Room *E*, also subterranean and entered apparently from *F*, yielded Ptolemaic papyrus fragments, as did also *F*. In *H* there was nothing, but on the floor of the passage *I* occurred the greater part of the first century B.C. papyri found by us in this temple, e.g. xviii, xviii (*a*) and (*b*).

Room *L* was a late addition; both it and *M* were empty. *O* we did not dig. In the passage *N* is a well twelve feet deep, in which were found Roman papyrus scraps and red pottery of Roman period and beads. *W* and *X*, evidently store-chambers, were unproductive.

Crossing over to the south of the portal we found room *T* previously dug. The next in order westward, *S*, yielded a small, late Ptolemaic, demotic roll. *R* and *Q* had been dug before our arrival. *Z* contained scraps of Roman papyrus. *Y* and *P*, subterranean chambers, were filled with loose rubbish similar to that in *D* opposite. The first yielded a small bronze Osiris head, a ring of fine blue ware, and many scraps of Roman papyrus; the second contained broken-up remains of funerary furniture, such as wooden *uraei*.

C. The Houses.

The town or village of Bacchias was spread more or less over all the northern mound, but its houses clustered most thickly on the highest parts to the north-west and north-east. At its largest it can hardly have contained as many as 700 houses, and 3000 souls might at a rough guess be put down as its maximum population. For any prosperity it enjoyed, it was mainly beholden to the desert route from Memphis which debouched hard by into the Fayûm (cf. p. 195). The houses themselves remaining on the site are not those of rich men. Their rooms are small and their walls poor in construction: they are not built of any material better than mud-brick, and seem destitute even of the stone doorways common at Karanis. But they are not crowded together, and they appear, when plotted in, to be arranged with a certain view to symmetry.

It must be premised, however, that we excavated Ûmm el 'Atl with no view to obtain the plan of the houses either singly or together. We were in search simply of papyrus, and whenever a house did not contain the peculiar kind of débris among which papyrus was to be expected, we desisted from its exploration. In certain quarters of the town, for instance on the lower part of the southern slope of the northern mound, and on the steep northern slope, we never found papyrus, and therefore did not hold it worth while to prosecute systematic excavation there. The explanation of the unproductive character of such quarters must lie in the fact that either they were appropriated to the

poorest of the population, among whom reading and writing would be as unknown as with any fellahin cultivators of to-day; or they were not residential quarters at all, *i.e.* the ruined constructions which compose them are remains not of houses, but of farm and garden or factory buildings. This last generalization will apply to the slag-strewn region south and south-west of the temple, and to the lower part of the steep northern and eastern slopes.

Furthermore we found a certain portion of the site excavated already in great part. This portion is that lying north-east of the temple and containing some of the best-built houses. Here, as we were informed, the Greek dealer from Senûres had worked at the same time that he explored certain of the temple chambers. To have cleared again the already rifled houses of this region would have been very little worth our while.

The greater part of the chambers opened by us were probably substructures. It appears that many of these Fayûm mounds (cf. p. 24) have been stripped to a large extent of the upper parts of their houses, and that from the materials so obtained the more modern villages within the area now cultivated have been built. At Ûmm el 'Atl the chambers were in many cases excavated out of the hard *gebel*, and without doors opening on to any street, being entered indeed by stairways, of which we found many examples. These stairs are constructed in two or three flights round a buttress of brick-work, and conduct to subterranean vaults under a roof supported on rough stakes and thatched over. In such vaults we hardly ever found papyrus, but often wine-jars, jar-sealings, and various domestic articles in wood. Only when the stairs and vault had come to be used as a rubbish-shoot did papyrus fragments occur.

Where we had to deal so largely with substructures, and so little with remains of the dwelling-rooms, there is not much to be said generally about the character or arrangement of the latter. Add to this fact that the rooms had been most thoroughly rifled long ago of all contents that were anciently of value. Twice only did we find remains of beds, one nearly perfect, a wooden frame on legs on which netting was stretched; it was so rotten that it fell to pieces as the supporting sand was removed. Broken fragments of tables were not infrequent, and in one house we discovered ornate chair-legs in acacia-wood, carved to represent coursing greyhounds (Plate XVI, fig. 1). Low stone tables on four feet, with a cup at one end, and sometimes adorned with a rude lion's head in relief on one side, were found here and there in the corner of a room: probably they were stands for water-jars. For the rest, beside broken pottery, all indistinctive, and common ware in coarse blue glaze or unglazed wheel-made red stuff, the domestic objects unearthed by us were mainly wooden bowls, wooden hair-combs, baskets, shoe-soles, wooden writing tablets (waxless and blank all but

one, retained by the Gizeh Museum, on which the Greek alphabet was set as a 'copy'), wooden stili, spits, toilette implements in bone and wood, dice in the same materials, ropes and pins for loading pack-animals, bronze rings and pins, beads in glass and paste, unengraved signet-stones and the like (see Plates XV–XVII for specimens). Three wooden stamps were found, (*a*) β (ἔτους) Τραιανοῦ Διοδώρας (Plate XVI, fig. 12); (*b*) Τραιανοῦ reversed (Plate XVI, fig. 2); (*c*) ν ε with figure of goat *couchant* (Plate XVI, fig. 5).

So far as the plan of the houses could be made out, they seemed to have consisted of from three to six rooms, arranged on no particular plan; one room opened straight on to the street, and the others led out of it and each other. No entrance-hall or passages or colonnades, or any of the luxuries of Italian houses, were present.

Traces of passages and a more elaborate plan were discovered only among the ruins on the high north-east mound, in one large room of which were found many scraps of late Ptolemaic papyri, e.g. Pap. xv. It is probable that here were situated the communal buildings; but even these were of a very poor kind, and were found by us in a ruinous and rifled state. The better-class houses on the lower ground to the west could claim superiority to the general run only on the score of larger rooms and better brick-work.

On the steep outer slope on the west and north occurred several alignments of small chambers with bricked floors, too small for human dwellings, and probably designed for store-rooms. It was under the floor of one of these on the north that we found a great hoard of more than 4000 Roman billon tetradrachms (see pp. 64 sqq.).

Bacchias then was a village of mud-roofed brick dwellings, without architectural adornment or pretension, out of which rose a single massive brick temple, oblong, mud-roofed, and equally devoid of external adornment. Its main avenue lay north and south. It was entered from the desert by the still conspicuous depression between the mounds, which probably lay on the line of the Memphis road, and also from the south-west, the direction of Arsinoë.

III. The Cemeteries of Kôm Ushîm and Ûmm el 'Atl.

The cemeteries of both Karanis and Bacchias are situated to the north of the town-sites, on the high ridges which rise at the ancient limit of cultivation. The earliest group of tombs explored by us lies about one and a half miles due north of Ûmm el 'Atl on a high gravelly plateau, below which runs a broad water-

course. The graves here are all cut in the rock at the base of perpendicular shafts, some round, some square, provided with foot-holes, and varying from fifteen to thirty feet in depth. The chambers are rudely cut and vaulted, and are sometimes large halls with *loculi* leading off them, sometimes *loculi* only radiating directly from the bottom of the shaft. The only tomb which was untouched when we excavated it had a square shaft filled in with lightly packed gravel descending fifteen feet. One chamber only led off the shaft on the east, the opening of which was filled with mortared mud-brick work. This having been broken in, we found a small square chamber with a single coffin laid against the south wall, feet to the east. There was nothing else whatever in the chamber. On being opened the coffin, which was rudely painted, was found to contain a female corpse with a linen cartonnage headpiece, breastpiece, and sandals. The mummy, when unrolled, proved to have no ornaments of any kind upon it.

The whole of the rest of the shafts which we cleared out (some twenty-five in all) had been entered centuries ago by plunderers, who had left nothing but the rude coffins with detachable face-pieces, and remains of cartonnage, in a few cases made of gummed papyrus. In vain we searched the plateau up and down for unopened shafts. Two unfinished ones were found that had been abandoned ere the grave-chambers could be cut at their base.

These shaft-graves belong to the earlier Ptolemaic period. A corresponding cemetery must exist somewhere in the Karanis necropolis, but we failed to find it. Behind Kôm Ushim, however, as well as behind Ûmm el 'Atl (at a point between the deep shaft-graves and the mound), we hit on groups of less sumptuous rock-cut graves which seem to belong to the late Ptolemaic age. These had short shafts or were approached by inclined *dromoi*. The dead were laid in radiating *loculi* or in a bed scooped out of the rocky floor of the passage itself. In one case only—at Kôm Ushîm—we found a representation of two occupants of the tomb, a man and wife, rudely scratched in the soft gypsum.

Next in order of chronology are the brick tombs. These are of three kinds.

(*a*) Subterranean coffin-shaped beds, scooped out of the rock, and bricked over with a rude pointed arch. Ûmm el 'Atl only.

(*b*) Large square or oblong enclosures, apparently houses used for sepulchres. The dead were laid on beds, and supplied with fireplaces and all necessaries. These occurred only at Kôm Ushim, at the point of the cemetery nearest to the mound: and in them we found a number of papyrus fragments (including Pap. i, ii, and cv), good ornate blue ware, terra-cotta figurines, many wooden objects, e.g. a little model waggon and a tablet inscribed ἀπόδος Πρ|ώταρχον (l. -χῳ) ἰς | Καρανίδα το|ῦ 'Αρσι⟨νοΐ⟩του.

(*c*) Small brick *mastabas*, or beehives, very rude in construction, containing dead bodies without any mummification or adjuncts. Outside the western wall of each is a small niche for offerings. This class is later than *b*: for the beehives were found sometimes built within, and sometimes across the walls of, the enclosures. They seem to represent the graves of the later Roman period at Karanis. None of this type were found at Ûmm el 'Atl.

All classes of tombs had been rifled with impartiality and thoroughness before our arrival; and, so far as we could judge, at a distant period of time. Native report, while eloquent on the finds made lately on the mounds, always denied that any one within living memory had made any discovery of note in the cemeteries. We had had two objects in view in attacking the tombs at all—papyrus, either in rolls or mummy-cases, and portraits on wood. Of the last-named only two broken bits were unearthed, thrown away by early plunderers; but two little painted panels, not portraits, had survived for us. Papyrus-rolls, if they ever existed, had decayed long ago: papyrus mummy-cases we found only in minute fragments and so rotted by damp and salt as to be worthless.

A small mound, which Prof. Petrie numbered 5 on his walk (*Illahun*, p. 31), should be described in this connexion. It lies nearly two miles slightly south of east from Ûmm el 'Atl. Our Bedawi camp-guard had been producing from time to time flint knives and beads, which at last we traced to this site. It proved when visited to be strewn with worked flints, and we had it searched thoroughly. Some shallow remains of brick walls were disclosed on the east of the summit, but we got no antiquities beyond the knives. There must have been a small factory situated here. In the cliffs to the north are a small number of tombs, all rock-cut, which we also explored. Some were shallow hollows containing rude wooden coffins, with vessels in rough red ware and wooden head-rests of a Pharaonic type. There was nothing to give a precise date, but it is certain that these tombs, and the flint factory, must belong to a much earlier period than the remains on either Ûmm el 'Atl or Kôm Ushîm. Farther west we found some well-cut rock-tombs of a different type in the base of the cliff; these had been entirely rifled. Their vaulted chambers led off from shallow square shafts; and the wrecks of coffins in them made it appear that they were of a period not earlier than Ptolemaic. Like the shaft-graves of Ûmm el 'Atl, each tomb here contained many skeletons, and must have been used by successive generations.

IV. Kaṣr el Banât (Euhemeria).

In the winter of 1898–99 we obtained permission to excavate in the desert at the north-west corner of the Fayûm, between Gebâla and the south-west end of the Birket el Ḳurûn. This tract of flat desert, in which several sites are situated, was for the most part irrigated in Ptolemaic and Roman times, and remains of the old canals are clearly traceable. Here, as on the east side of the Fayûm, the margin of cultivation receded in the fourth century, and the outlying villages were abandoned. Now however the reclamation is proceeding rapidly under the easy terms offered by the Egyptian Government to those willing to undertake the construction of the necessary canals. The most promising site in our concession was Ḳaṣr el Banât ('The Maidens' Palace'), which in 1898 was on the edge of the desert, and we began work there on Dec. 9.

The low, undulating mounds of Ḳaṣr el Banât (Pl. VII[a]), intersected by sandy hollows, cover an area of about a quarter of a square mile. Nearly half the site had been dug not very long before our arrival, especially the houses on the west and north sides and on the tops of mounds. Elsewhere there were occasional probings, but no systematic clearances. It is not reported that the natives had found much, and the fate of what was discovered is uncertain. But as they had naturally selected what appeared to be, and no doubt were in most cases, the best parts, the damage done was considerable. In some places too the surface of the low ground had been scooped into hollows, perhaps by *sebakhîn*, though this did not affect papyri which lay beneath.

The undulations of the site are to a large extent natural, for the ground-level was generally not much deeper in the higher parts of the site than in the lower. Since the underground cellars, which were so conspicuous a feature of Ûmm el 'Atl, were here very rare, and those houses which had had more than one story had been denuded down to the levels of the rest, the site was as a whole unusually shallow. The floors of the buildings were rarely more than two metres from the surface, and often much less, though the foundations were of course somewhat deeper.

The houses as usual were built of unbaked brick, generally plastered inside, and, if somewhat more substantial than those of Ûmm el 'Atl, were much inferior in point of solidity to those of Harit. Stone was very sparingly used. A few fragments of limestone columns were found, and stone blocks were occasionally used in doorways. The commonest kind of houses were filled up with sand, mingled with the débris of the roof and walls, and contained few papyri or antiquities of any sort, though in an oven in a house of this description we found

a large number of ostraca (e. g. nos. 41–3). More fruitful than these were houses and adjacent lanes into which rubbish had been thrown, and which had an *afsh* layer. The papyri found in these were of mixed dates, first to third century A. D., and for the most part fragmentary. One mound in particular at the extreme south-east of the site was productive of some early first century A. D. papyri (e.g. the two Homeric fragments, Pap. vi and vii). The plaster on the walls of a house which was underneath part of this mound had been painted, but only the feet of a series of figures were preserved, together with a few much defaced demotic graffiti (one of these is now at Gizeh). In mounds of this kind covering buildings the *afsh* layer was generally near the surface, and not more than a foot or so in thickness. Underneath, the earth had a marked tendency to become *sebakh*, i.e. fine and powdery.

Our chief finds however, whether of papyri or miscellaneous antiquities, were in those houses which had an *afsh* layer at or near the bottom covered by débris for the most part from the house itself. The best of these, on the south side of the site, yielded nearly a hundred papyri, half of them being well or fairly well preserved. They belong to the reigns of Domitian and Trajan, and consist of letters from Lucius Bellenus Gemellus, a veteran who had property in the town, to relatives, and of other documents, chiefly letters, connected with the family (pp. 261–3). These were found in two adjoining rooms about a foot from the floor; the other rooms of the same house, though possessing an *afsh* layer, produced no papyri, but Inscription V (p. 48) was found here, having been sawn down and used as a doorstep. Some of the other best-preserved papyri were discovered in small chambers not more than a square metre in area, similar to those at Ûmm el 'Atl. These were often arranged in one or more rows side by side, the row consisting of four or five, or even as many as ten chambers, occasionally varied by a somewhat larger one. There was no means of getting in or out from the sides, so presumably the entrance was from the top, and probably they were granaries or store-rooms. In one of these we found four rolls tied up together, dating from the early part of Augustus' reign (ci, ccxxxii–iv), and in another a number of documents belonging to the middle of the first century A. D. (e.g. xxix, xlvi). Rubbish mounds as such were very unremunerative. Several of them consisted merely of ashes, and none of the others produced anything but mere fragments of papyrus. The *afsh* in these mounds had a tendency to coagulate into a hard mass which a *tûrya* could hardly penetrate.

By the end of four weeks we had finished the south-east, by far the richest, part of the site. The centre was mainly occupied by large walled enclosures filled up with sand, and the rest of the site had been too much dug already to

make a systematic clearance profitable, so that we had to be content with digging out isolated houses or rooms which had been passed over.

The temple of Euhemeria (for this was soon shown by papyri and ostraca to be the ancient name of Ḳaṣr el Banât) stood a few yards away from the town on the north-west, and was constructed mainly of brick. Its corners point almost exactly to the four quarters of the compass, the entrance being in the middle of the south-east side, facing the town. In its general arrangement it resembled the somewhat smaller temple of Bacchias (Pl. III). About three quarters of it had been dug out by natives, and been filled up with sand, but some small chambers (2½ to 2 × 2 to 1½ metres) along the north-west and south-west sides had not been opened, and in these and the underground rooms beneath them we found a few papyri, Greek and demotic, some ostraca, and a pot (Pl. XII b, fig. 3) containing several bronzes, a large ring with a sphinx in relief (now at Gizeh), an incense-burner, and a statuette of Osiris. In none of the Greek papyri found in the temple or elsewhere on the site is the name of the local deity written out in full, but on ccxli]ου θεοῦ μεγάλου μεγάλου occurs, and since a Σουχιεῖον at Euhemeria is mentioned in P. P. II. ii. (1) 18, the mutilated name may be confidently restored as Σούχ]ου or some other form of Sebek; cf. p. 22. With the crocodile god were associated not only Isis, who in Ostr. 38 is called θεὰ κώμης, but other gods. A demotic fragment found in the temple, for the translation of which we are indebted to Prof. Spiegelberg, mentions 'Isis with the beautiful throne' (*nfr st*, *i.e.* Isis Νεφερσῆς, cf. p. 22); and on another demotic papyrus of the late Ptolemaic period occurs 'Isis the goddess [mother], Harsiesis the great god, and . . . the great god and the gods and goddesses united to her (σύνναοι).' If Inscription V (p. 48) was originally erected at Euhemeria, another temple must have been built there during the reign of one of the later Ptolemies.

To summarize the objects found at Ḳaṣr el Banât. Out of more than 400 *papyri* which we unrolled (ten demotic, all at Gizeh, the rest Greek, not yet divided) about a quarter are in a good or fair state of preservation. A few late Ptolemaic documents, chiefly demotic, together with some Roman, were found in the temple, and a fourth century letter (cxxxv) in the rubbish on the top. In the town the papyri dated from the first to third century A.D., with the exception of a small number belonging to the end of the first century B.C., a few others which are or may be of the early fourth century, and one late Byzantine scrap which was discovered near the surface and had no doubt been blown there by the wind. The largest groups of papyri found together are mainly of the first century A.D., but most parts of the site yielded, as is usual in the Fayûm, documents of the period from Trajan to Severus Alexander. In the fourth century of our era Euhemeria decayed, and was abandoned like the other sites described in this volume, except Karanis (cf. p. 16).

Ostraca from the Fayûm have hitherto been extremely rare (cf. p. 317); and the *provenance* of even those is uncertain. No doubt the explanation is partly that in the Fayûm ostraca were less commonly used than elsewhere as a substitute for papyrus in writing short tax receipts, orders for payment, and accounts. But there is another reason for their rarity, which we suspect to be much more potent. While Greek papyri have been yearly increasing in value, so that the price now demanded for them by dealers (and unfortunately often obtained) is in most cases quite preposterous, Greek ostraca can still be bought anywhere for a few pence. Hence in a district like the Fayûm, which is extremely rich in papyri but in very little else that appeals to the average buyer of antiquities, the native diggers have not paid any attention to ostraca; and these are very easily passed over amid the thousands of uninscribed potsherds. As a matter of fact, ostraca are not really rare in the Fayûm. Byzantine ostraca from Kôm el Fâris are nearly always to be seen at Medinet el Fayûm. At Ûmm el 'Atl indeed we found only two or three, perhaps because our workmen were inexperienced, and at Ûmm el Baragât not more than thirty; but while digging the towns of Ḳaṣr el Banât, Harit, and Wadfa, hardly a day passed without one or more turning up. Ḳaṣr el Banât produced altogether over a hundred Greek ostraca covering the same period as the papyri, and one demotic (from the temple, now at Gizeh). The largest find has already been referred to (p. 44).

Coins (Roman billon or copper, with some Ptolemaic) were found all over the site, but no hoards were discovered. For a description of them see pp. 64 sqq.

Amongst the *wooden objects* may be mentioned four stamps, inscribed respectively, ΗΡΩΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ, Α Β Γ ΜΑΡΡΗϹ (these two at Gizeh), ΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹ and ΕΡΜΟΥΘΕΩ; ten small combs (cf. Plate XV, fig. 7); two larger combs with handles (? for carding hair or wool, Pl. XV, figs. 15, 16); six mallets (one at Gizeh; cf. Pl. XV, figs. 10, 11, 12); a rattle; several spindles (cf. Pl. XV, figs. 14, 18); the head of a rake (Pl. XV, fig. 5); numerous little boxes, two with lids, another enamelled, another containing blue dye; a lock (cf. Pl. XVI, fig. 6); a knife-handle; pegs (cf. Pl. XVI, fig. 8); funnels (cf. Pl. XV, fig. 9); two spinning-tops (cf. Pl. XVI, fig. 16); a draughtsman; door handles.

Terra-cotta figures, generally very rudely executed and in many cases probably intended for toys, were very common here, as in all Fayûm sites. The best, a figure of a man holding a lantern, is at Gizeh. Isis suckling Horus, Harpocrates in various postures but generally with his finger in his mouth, Sarapis, female figures, dogs, camels, horses, and cocks were the usual subjects.

Of *blue glazed ware* from the town there was one large two-handled vase (Pl. XII[b], fig. 11), a small figure of 'Venus Anadyomene,' a lion, numerous

beads, and a Bes amulet. In the temple we found a statuette of Isis and Horus, an eye, a rosette, beads, and five dark blue glaze cylinders (Pl. XVI, fig. 18) intended to be joined together by a piece of wood running through the centre.

Ordinary *earthenware pots* were found in great variety and profusion (twenty-four left at Gizeh, *Journ.* nos. 33368–33391; see Pls. XII and XIII), and numerous *lamps* of the Roman period (cf. p. 57; one, found with first century papyri, at Gizeh). The only complete objects of *glass* were one or two lacrymatoria, and some marbles and centres of rings, and of course beads. The *iron* implements included a sickle (Pl. XV, fig. 2), two swords, two knives with handles (Pl. XV, fig. 3), and the head of a hoe similar to that figured on Pl. XV, fig. 1. One small *silver* and numerous *bronze* rings were found in the town; other bronze objects included fish-hooks, small plates, needles, fibulae, bracelets, nails, arrow-head, pins, statuette of Horus (?), and small bells; and in the temple, besides the objects mentioned on p. 45, a lamp and a surgical instrument. *Ivory* or *bone* hairpins were common, but only two dice were found. The inhabitants of Euhemeria do not seem to have been so fond of gambling as those of Oxyrhynchus. A small bowl, fish and snake of *lead*, a small calcite vase, a few stone weights, a square palette, two water-troughs, one of limestone, the other of granite with a rude lion's head carved on it, numerous baskets both large and small, a camel muzzle (Pl. XVII, fig. 7), blinkers (?) (Pl. XVII, fig. 5), a fishing net, sandals of rope and papyrus (Pl. XVII, figs. 1, 3), a fringed cap (?) (Pl. XVII, fig. 4), and three writing tablets may also be mentioned.

The evidence of the papyri and coins shows that all the other objects belong to the Roman period, mostly to the second or third century rather than to the first, except (1) those found in the temple, which are probably late Ptolemaic or early Roman, and (2) a flint knife picked up on the surface of the site. Flint knives of uncertain period are to be found throughout the desert bordering on the Fayûm, and in some parts they are very common. Though we have found occasional specimens on the surface of purely Graeco-Roman sites, we have no trustworthy evidence as to their date.

The following inscription (V, Pl. VIII[a], now at Gizeh), containing part of a petition, was lying face downwards, and had served as a doorstep in the house where the Gemellus papyri were found (p. 44). The surface of the stone is much damaged and worn, and the upper portion of it has been sawn away. The letters, which are well cut, average 2 cm. in height; they are sometimes rather crowded at the ends of lines. The whole stone measures 89·5 × 51·5 cm. In deciphering the inscription we have had the assistance of Mr. Hogarth, to whom we are indebted for several suggestions.

ΙΜΙΙ..ΙΟ..ΣΜ....ΣΙΜΝ...ΩΝ
ΕΠΙΤΕΛΩΝΤΑΙΚΤ.ΣΘΕΝΤΟΣΤΟΥΣΗΜΑΙ
ΝΟΜΕΜΕΝΟΥΙΕΡΟΥΥΠΕΡΤΕΣΟΥΚΑΙΤΩΝΠΡΟ
ΓΟΝΩ..ΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣΗΣΚΑΙΤΗΣΠΑΡΑ
ΤΩΝΠΛΗΣΙΩΝΙΕΡΩΝΣΥΝΚΕΧ..ΗΜΕΝΗΣ
ΑΣΥΛΙΑΣΜΗΔΕΝΟΣΕΙΣΤ....ΜΕΝΟΥ
ΜΗΔΕΚΣΠΑΝΤΟΥΣΕΝΤΩΙ..ΩΚΑΙ
ΠΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΥΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΔ.ΥΛ...Σ
ΤΟΥΣΚΑΤ..ΕΥΓΟΝΤΑΣΚΑΘΟΝΔΗΠΟ
ΤΟΥΝΤΡΟΠΟΝΔΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΤΟΥΝΙΚΗ
ΦΟΡΟΥΘΕΟΥΕΙΔ..ΕΙΟ....ΟΥΣΤΟΥ
ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΟΣΥ...Ο........ΡΙΝΟ
ΕΧΕΙΣΠΡΟΣΤΟΙΕΡΟΝΕΥ..ΙΞ...ΠΡΟΣ
ΤΑΞΑΙ⁝ΗΡΙΔΙΤΩΙΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΚΑΙΥ.ΟΜΝΗ
ΜΑΤΟΓΡΑΦΩΙΟΠΩΣΓΡΑΨΗΤΩ.Τ.ΥΝΟΜΟΥ
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΙΚΑΙΟΙΣΚΑΘΗΚΕΙΙΝΕΙΔΩΕ
ΠΟΝ..ΜΕΝΟΝΤΑΓΗΣΑΝ........Σ
ΠΡΟΝ..ΣΗΝΑΙΩΣΜΕΙΚΤ...ΣΑΣΥ
ΛΙΑΣΤΟΠΟΝΗΕΝΚ..Ω..Η.....ΗΙ
ΥΠΕΜΟΥΣΤΗΛΗΙΑΝΑΤΕΘΕΙ....
ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΥΣΑΤΗΣΕΝΤΕ.ΞΕΩΣ
ΚΑΙΤΗΣΠΡΟΣΑΥΤΗΝΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΥ
ΤΟΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΟΥΤΟΥΔΕΓΕΝΟ
ΜΕΝΟΥΕΣΟΜΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΜΕΝΟΣ
ΔΙΕΥΤΥΧΕΙ
LΙΓ ΗΡΙΔΟΣΓΕΙΝΕΣΘΩ
ΕΓΡΑΨΕΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣΔΙΔΥΜΟΥ
ΚΟΙΝΟΣΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ

. . . . .

ἐπιτελῶνται κτ[ι]σθέντος τοῦ σημαινομένου ἱεροῦ ὑπέρ τε σοῦ καὶ τῶν προγόνω[ν σ]ου, μενούσης καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν πλησίων ἱερῶν συνκεχ[ωρ]ημένης ἀσυλίας, μηδενὸς εἰσ . . . . . μένου

μηδ' ἐκσπᾶν τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱ[ερ]ῷ καὶ
παστοφόρους καὶ τοὺς δ[ο]ύλ[ου]ς (?)
τοὺς κατ[αφ]εύγοντας καθ' ὀνδηπο-
τοῦν τρόπον, δέομαι σοῦ (?) τοῦ νικη-
φόρου θεοῦ εἰ δ[οκ]εῖ . . . . . ους τοῦ
πράγματος υ . . . ο . . . .
ἔχεις πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ε . . . . προσ-
τάξαι Ἥριδι τῶι συγγενεῖ καὶ ὑ[π]ομνη-
ματογράφωι ὅπως γράψῃ τῶ[ι] τ[ο]ῦ νομοῦ
στρατηγῶι καὶ οἷς καθήκει ἵν' εἰδῶ ε-
πο . . . . ενονταγ . . αν . . . . ς
προνο . . . η . αιωσ . ε . . τ . . . . ἀσυ-
λίας τόπον ἢ ε . κ . . . . . η . . . . . ηι
ὑπ' ἐμοῦ στήληι ἀνατεθει . . . .
περιέχουσα τῆς ἐντε[ύ]ξεως
καὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν χρηματισμοῦ
τὸ ἀντίγραφον. τούτου δὲ γενο-
μένου ἔσομαι εὐεργετημένος.
διευτύχει.
(ἔτους) ιγ. Ἥριδος "γεινέσθω."
ἔγραψε Πτολεμαῖος Διδύμου
κοινὸς γραμματεύς.

As stated in lines 19 sqq., the inscription is a copy of a petition which was addressed to the king, and of the official answer of the ὑπομνηματογράφος. Unfortunately the stela is so much mutilated and defaced that only a general idea of its drift is obtainable. The upper part of the stone, which must have contained a considerable number of lines, has been cut away; and in the surviving fragment the letters towards the ends of the lines are mostly very indistinct, and in places have disappeared altogether. Moreover the difficulties of decipherment are increased by the fact that the Greek of the inscription is not of the best; τῆς χρηματισμοῦ in line 22, for instance, is not calculated to inspire confidence.

The subject of the petition is the right of asylum in connexion with a newly erected temple in which the writer was in some way interested. By an unlucky chance the three lines which contained the gist of his request (17–19) are among those which have suffered most severely, and their sense is hardly recoverable. The identity of the petitioner and the locality of the temple are also matters of conjecture. The temple had evidently been quite recently built, for it was erected in honour of the reigning Ptolemy (l. 3). From the fact that the inscription was found at Euhemeria it may be assumed, in the absence of other evidence, that the temple belonged to that town. It was not

however the principal temple of Euhemeria, which was dedicated to Suchus, Isis, and other gods, and was of much earlier foundation; cf. p. 45. The petitioner may have been concerned in its erection, or merely a local official. Perhaps a more likely supposition is that he was a priest associated with the temple service. His purpose apparently was to secure that the temple in question should stand upon a footing of equality with certain neighbouring temples which enjoyed the right of inviolability with reference to their ordinary inmates as well as to those who sought temporary refuge within their walls. Hence we may conclude that such inviolability did not attach to every sanctuary as such, but was a privilege which could be granted or denied at the royal pleasure. In the present case the petition was successful, and the coveted privilege was conceded (l. 26).

The date of the inscription certainly falls in either the second or the first century B.C.; and the mention of the thirteenth year (l. 26) limits the possibilities to the reigns of Epiphanes and Philometor in the second century, and that of Neos Dionysus in the first. We have therefore to choose between the years B.C. 193–2, 169–8, and 69–8; the last seems to be the most probable of the three.

Line 4 sqq. The object of this clause was perhaps to conciliate the 'neighbouring temples,' who might suppose that their rights were being encroached upon. *τοῖς πλησίοις ἱεροῖς* might be expected rather than *παρὰ τῶν πλησίων ἱερῶν*, which must mean 'the right of asylum which has hitherto been conceded (to suppliants, &c.) by the temples remaining undisturbed.' The character of the privilege is further explained in the following clause.

8. *δ[ο]ύλ[ου]ς*: the reading is rather doubtful, the traces being very faint and the supplements somewhat short for the lacunae. The habit of runaway slaves to seek sanctuary in temples is illustrated by Pap. Par. 10, which is an advertisement for the recovery of two slaves who had taken flight. Their persons and dress are described, and a scale of rewards is announced. The actual production of one of the fugitives is valued at two talents 3000 drachmae of copper; the disclosure of the temple where he had taken refuge, at one talent 2000 drachmae; the proof that he was being harboured by a person of good position, who could be made to pay, at three talents 5000 drachmae.

10. *δέομαι σοῦ*: the stone apparently has *δεομενου*, which makes no good sense and leaves us without a principal verb. Some such correction as that adopted in the text seems necessary.

12. If ΡΙΝΟ is rightly read, *χάριν ὃ* preceded by a genitive may be restored; or some such phrase as *καθ' ἣν ἔχεις . . . εὐμένειαν* would suit the passage. In 13, ΕΥΗΜΕΡΕΙΑΣ is too long.

14. ΗΡΙΔΙ is probably for Ἡρώδει; the nominative appears as ΗΡΙΔΟΣ in l. 26.

συγγενεῖ: this is one of the commonest of the honorific titles which are characteristic of the second and first centuries B.C., and appear to have been first introduced by Epiphanes; cf. Strack, *Gr. Titel im Ptolemäerreich* in *Rhein. Museum für Philol.*, lv, pp. 161 sqq.

18. Either *προνοήσῃ καὶ* or *προνοηθῆναι* would be expected, but the traces on the stone seem inconsistent with both.

22. *τοῦ*: ΤΗΣ inscr.

26. ΗΡΙΔΟΣ: l. Ἡρώδης? Cf. 14.

27–8. The title *κοινὸς γραμματεύς* is new, and owing to the mutilation of the inscription it is not clear on whose behalf Ptolemy, son of Didymus, was acting. Perhaps he was the representative of the priests. *ἔγραψε* seems to refer to the whole stela, meaning that he was responsible for the copy which was set up.

V. Harît (Theadelphia).

The traveller from Gebâla (Polydeucia? see p. 14) to Ḳaṣr el Banât will, about one and a half miles from his destination, where the belt of cultivation on his left hand ceases, pass the remains of an old town, called Harît. Our excavations there occupied us for the last three weeks of our season's work in 1898–99, the intervening period being taken up with the examination of the cemeteries at Ḳaṣr el Banât and Harît, which are described in the next chapter.

The town of Harît (Pl. VII[b]) is of about the same length as Ḳaṣr el Banât but not so broad, and the ruins are less undulating, tending to form one continuous mound which was highest in the middle. The south side of the site consisted of rubbish mounds partly covering large walled enclosures. One of these mounds was composed of ashes and cinders, the others had been much dug by *sebakhîn*, but seemed to have contained little or no *afsh*. *Sebakhîn* had also been busy in other parts of the site where there was rubbish on the surface, while many of the houses which were filled up with sand (see below) had been tried with a view to finding antiquities, but only a few buildings, including the temple, had been cleared out.

The mounds of Theadelphia, as the ancient name proved to be, are lower than those of Ḳaṣr el Banât, but are in reality deeper, for most of the rise was artificial, while at Ḳaṣr el Banât it was largely natural. In the higher parts of Harît the ground-level was fifteen feet from the surface of the ruins; at Ḳaṣr el Banât, on the other hand, it was seldom more than seven or eight feet.

A very noticeable feature of Harît is the definiteness with which the walls of most of the houses are to be traced along the surface of the mounds by the little chips of white limestone used in making the bricks. These houses were filled up with sand or a mixture of sand and fine dust or ashes, and in their height, solidity of construction, good state of preservation and absence of extraneous rubbish resemble those of Dimê, and are much superior to those at Ḳaṣr el Banât. In most cases the ground-floor walls were intact, and sometimes the roofs, consisting of bricks laid on reed matting across logs of palm wood, were standing, though generally, as was natural, they had fallen in. As regards antiquities however, and papyri in particular, these houses at Harît were singularly barren. Sometimes the sand mixed with the bricks and reeds continued right down to the bottom, sometimes at the bottom was a layer of soft earth or rubbish or straw, but there was no real layer of *afsh*. A well-preserved plough (Pl. IX[b], at Gizeh) was found in one of these houses, and in another two

hoes, hardly distinguishable in shape from the modern *túrya* (one at Gizeh, the other figured in Pl. XV, fig. 1); while Ostraca **24–29** were resting on a niche in the wall of a third. But hardly any papyri were obtained except fragments (third century) which had apparently been blown in while the house was in process of being filled up. The central and western parts of the site, which were occupied by these well-preserved houses, thus proved to be of little use for our purposes; and the south side, where the houses were not of similar description, was occupied by mounds of pure *sebakh* which were equally unproductive. The north side of the site was somewhat better, for here the rubbish covering the houses contained *afsh*. Papyri were, as a rule, very sparse, but ostraca were not uncommon. The only place that was really rich was a rubbish mound underneath two to five feet of sand at the extreme north-east corner of the town. This mound covered the foundations of a good-sized building, and here many papyri, mainly of the second century, were found either in the rubbish or at the bottom. Separated from it by a lane was the façade of another large and better preserved building with a stone door. This second building was filled with the usual sand and black dust, and yielded nothing. But possibly one of the two had contained the local archives.

The next best part of the site was the houses round the temple, which, like that of Ḳaṣr el Banât, stood at a little distance (about 30 yards) outside the town on the west side. The temple itself, which was a good deal smaller than that of Ḳaṣr el Banât, had been dug out by natives; subsequently the walls had partly fallen in and the hollows filled up again with sand. It is said that *masakhît* ('statues,' i. e. Roman terra-cottas probably) were found there, and in clearing away some *afsh* which had been thrown out from it we came upon some fragments of second or third century papyri, and one complete document. The houses round, which were not deep, had also been dug, though not very systematically; and in them we made some interesting finds of papyri, either late Ptolemaic or of Augustus' time (e.g. xi, xii, xiv, xvi, and xliv), not mixed up with later documents. The objects found with them no doubt belonged to the same period as the papyri; and this conclusion is confirmed by the identity of the pottery from these houses with that found both in the tombs which we had already had reason to think late Ptolemaic (see pp. 56 sqq.), and in the ruins of a house in the Ptolemaic cemetery (cf. p. 53). Altogether Harit produced about the same number of papyri as Ḳaṣr el Banât, while the miscellaneous antiquities, especially the pottery, were of greater interest owing to the more detailed information obtained concerning their dates. We subjoin a list of all the more interesting finds in the town, the numbers being those of our inventory of the Harit objects.

(*a*) Late Ptolemaic or very early Roman, all found in the houses round the temple:—231, large amphora (Pl. XI^b, fig. 13, now at Gizeh); 232, large cylindrical pot (Pl. XI^b, fig. 11); 233, small jug (Pl. XI^b, fig. 16; cf. Pl. XIV^b, fig. 20, a very common Roman shape); 234, vase (Pl. XI^b, fig. 15, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,326); 235, top of a similar vase found with 231 (Pl. XI^b, fig. 18, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,328); 236, found with 232 (Pl. XI^b, fig. 1); 250 (found with 251-4), small black two-handled vase with a Bes head on either side (at Gizeh; cf. Pl. XVI, fig. 15, a similar vase); 251, lamp with two Cupids; 252, small wooden box shaped like the lower part of an amphora; 253, terra-cotta head of Isis or Hathor; 254, iron knife; 256, terra-cotta figure of a woman playing a musical instrument; 257, small wooden box; 258, beads and some Bes amulets (now at Gizeh); 259, six copper coins (Soter II and Cleopatra VII); 260, bone amulet (Bes ?); 261, bronze head of a goose and piece of a *fibula* (now at Gizeh; 256-261 were found together with 231 in the same house as 262-5); 262, amulets (Thoth, Horus, Bes and rosettes; now at Gizeh); 263, three coins (Euergetes II and Soter II); 264, wooden box; 265, clay disk pierced with holes (at Gizeh); 266, bronze ring; 267, terra-cotta figure of a boy, found with 268, a coin of Euergetes I; 269 and 270, black lamp with a long spout and with pierced handle; 271, ditto, with short spout and handle; 272, reddish brown lamp with a small side handle but not pierced; 273, comb (at Gizeh); 274, rude wooden figure of Osiris; 275, comb; 276, male figure in blue glaze (at Gizeh); 277, large bronze ladle; 278, fragment of a pot ornamented in relief (at Gizeh); 350, two Bes amulets; 436, 437, 450-3, Greek ostraca (450 at Gizeh); 481, clay jar stopper inscribed] ΚΑΙΣ ΘΕΑΔΕΛΦ. Here we may also mention a series of pots found together with some late second century B.C. papyrus fragments in a house among the Ptolemaic tombs; cf. p. 58. These were: 190 *a*, brown jug (Pl. XI^b, fig. 3, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,296); *b* small black jug (Pl. XI^a, fig. 5, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,290); *c, d, e, f, g, h, i, l, n, o* (= *Gizeh Journ.* 33,297, 33,298, 33,294, 33,311, 33,300, 33,302, 33,299, 33,295, 33,301, 33,303) other pots of the usual Ptolemaic types.

(*b*) Amongst the objects found in the houses of the Roman town (all probably second or third century, except where otherwise stated) the plough and hoes have already been mentioned. For the pottery (numbered 211-30, and 237-9) see Plate XIV^b with the description, and cf. Pl. XIV^a, which gives specimens of the pottery from the Roman tombs. Besides these we may mention—279, a pair of papyrus slippers; 280, an inscribed slate; 281, a reed musical instrument; 282, wooden stool (Pl. XVI, fig. 4); 283, sandal of basket-work (Pl. XVII, fig. 2); 284, two small pottery lids (one at Gizeh); 286, wooden figure of Sarapis; 287 and 306, spindles; 288, small wooden comb? (Pl. XV, fig. 17);

289, bronze lamp; 291, iron knife; 292, iron drill, with wooden handle (Pl. XV, fig. 4); 293, small calcite vase; 294, 295, palettes; 296 and 311, wooden tops; 297, clay seals attached to a cord; 298–303, 305, and 308, terra-cottas (Harpocrates on a cock, Silenus (?), female figures, &c.); 304, frog lamp; 307, bronze bell; 310, wooden stamp, ΘΕΑΔΕΛ|ΦΕΙΑϹ; 312, eight ivory or bone pins; 313, three bronze surgical instruments; 314, four fish-hooks; 315 and 320, bronze rings; 316, glass weight (?) with head of a third or fourth century emperor on one side, and another head on the reverse; 317, five glass centres of rings; 318, three Bes amulets; 319 and 327, bronze signet rings (probably Ptolemaic); 321, small bronze tongs; 322, papyrus chain; 324, 325, glass buttons or counters; 328, bronze bracelet; 331, 332, beads, chiefly green glass and blue glaze; 333, large blue and yellow glaze bead; 339 bird snare of string and horsehair; 340, blue glaze vase found with some third century papyri; 348, clay impressions of seals; 351, fringed cap (?) now at Gizeh; 401–435, 438–449, 454–480, Greek ostraca (409 and 429 at Gizeh).

The following inscription (VI), rudely cut upon a roughly shaped limestone block measuring 34 × 29 cm., was found *in situ* let into the wall of a large room which, as the inscription states, was the dining-hall of the 'elders' of the corporation of weavers, erected in A. D. 109.

ΔΙΠΝΗΤΗΡΙΟΝΠΡ	*Διπνητήριον πρ-*
ΕϹΒΥΤΕΡΩΝΓΕΡ	*εσβυτέρων γερ-*
ΔΙΩΝΕΠΙΝΕΦΕΡΩ	*δίων, ἐπὶ Νεφερῶ-*
ΤΟϹΤΟΥΚΕΦΑΛΑ	*τος τοῦ Κεφαλᾶ-*
ΤΟϹΦΡΟΝΤΙϹΤΟΥ	*τος φροντιστοῦ.*
ΗΡΩΝΕΓΡΑΨΕΝΕ	*Ἥρων ἔγραψεν ἐ-*
ΠΑΓΑΘΩΙLIB	*π' ἀγαθῶι. (ἔτους) ιβ*
ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹ	*Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος*
ΤΟΥΚΥΡΙΟΥΟΑΡΜΟΥ	*τοῦ κυρίου, Φαρμοῦ-*
ΟΗϹ	*θι ς.*

9–10. In the word Φαρμοῦθι, the stone-cutter forgot to insert the cross-strokes of φ and θ, which consequently appear as omicrons.

VI. Cemeteries of Ḳaṣr el Banât and Harît.

We excavated the cemetery of Ḳaṣr el Banât for nearly a fortnight after finishing the town, and then moved our encampment to Harît, where we devoted

the first three weeks to the tombs. As the Harit cemetery was dug much more extensively and was much more productive than that of Ḳaṣr el Banât, and the tombs of the latter place could only be dated by the information which we obtained at the former, it will be convenient to describe the Harit cemetery first.

This stretched from the west side of the town for some distance. The tombs fell into three well-defined classes which may be called (1) the earlier Ptolemaic (from about 250 to 150 B.C.); (2) the intermediate (later Ptolemaic and early Roman); and (3) the Roman (second and third century A.D.).

In the first class, a group at the north-west end of the cemetery, the bodies were generally mummified and buried in plain wooden sarcophagi, roughly shaped as a mummy, and with rude heads similar to those found by Prof. Petrie at Gurob. In a few instances the sarcophagi were painted. Pottery coffins were also common, sometimes with a face engraved on the lid (cf. Pl. XI^b, figs. 9, 19), sometimes plain, the lid consisting merely of stone slabs. In the poorer tombs no coffins at all were used. The graves were uniformly shallow, generally from four to six feet deep; and the sarcophagi were placed either at the bottom, with or without a covering of bricks, or in a narrow recess bricked up, or in some cases in a vault of which the brick roof was only a few inches under the surface of the ground. A single tomb frequently served for several burials—in one case as many as seven mummies in plain wooden sarcophagi, and one on a bier, were found together.

Most of the mummies were decorated with the usual painted cartonnage (headpiece, pectoral, leg pieces and slippers). The background for the plaster was sometimes cloth, but generally papyrus, of which several layers were stuck together. More rarely there was but a single thickness of papyrus between the two coatings of plaster, and usually in these cases the cartonnage was confined to the headpiece and pectoral, while a scarab and disks of gilded plaster were placed on the head. The ornamentation was, as a whole, very crude, only one mummy being somewhat elaborately gilded, and having a handsomely painted pectoral. The writing on the papyri belonged to the third or, in some cases, the second century B.C.; but in every case the cartonnage had been completely ruined by damp, assisted perhaps by imperfect methods of mummification, and either had already crumbled to powder, or did so at the touch. A recess at the bottom of one tomb contained a painted cinerary urn (Pl. XI^a, fig. 17, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,394), and a lamp (Pl. X^b, fig. 7, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,393), but these earlier Ptolemaic tombs were singularly destitute of small antiquities. No beads, amulets, or alabaster vases were found, nor indeed any objects, except a few earthenware pots, either broken or complete, in the filling. These were of the same

character as those found in the later Ptolemaic tombs (class 2), but in much less variety, and chiefly of the shapes figured on Pl. XI[a], figs. 2, 6–10.

The tombs of the second class, or intermediate period between the earlier Ptolemaic and the characteristically Roman, were to the south-east of the earlier Ptolemaic burials, and probably tended to become later as they approached the town. As is natural, there were several points of connexion with the earlier tombs. Pottery coffins and gilded plaster scarabs were found, and occasional lamps of the same form as those on Pl. X[b], figs. 1, 7; and the limited number of forms of pots from the earlier Ptolemaic tombs occur also among the much more numerous and varied forms from the later. On the other hand, there are several points of contrast. In the earlier class, the tendency is for attention to be mainly devoted to the preparation of the body of the deceased, which was mummified and adorned with cartonnage, while the tomb itself was of the simplest description, and no objects were placed with the body. In the later tombs the tendency was quite the reverse. The bodies were but rarely mummified, and in no case were adorned with cartonnage, but the tombs were, as a whole, much more elaborate, and there was not the same dearth of objects buried with the dead. Wooden sarcophagi, which were common, were no longer in the shape of a mummy with rude headpieces, but box-shaped with arched lids, and not infrequently painted with a rude design, generally festoons of flowers. Limestone sarcophagi were also found, though more rarely. Over the bodies, whether placed in coffins or not, was built a solid arch or flat pavement of bricks, of which large quantities were used in order to fill up the tomb. When, as sometimes was the case, the graves were both broad and long, e.g. $4 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ metres, quite a mausoleum was erected, even though the depth of the tombs did not exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 metres. The largest tombs were often divided by a brick wall in the middle into two compartments, with a communicating door bricked up. Usually a flight of steps led down to this door, and sometimes there was a burial at the bottom of the steps, as well as behind the door. Another feature of many later Ptolemaic burials was the occurrence of a stake or branch, sometimes of a bunch of reeds tied together, which had, no doubt, formed part of the bier, placed vertically at the head or foot just under the surface. Neither at Harit nor at Ûmm el Baragât were these evidences of a tomb found in the early Ptolemaic burials, while by the Roman period they had at both places become practically universal. Possibly in some cases they had originally projected from the ground, like the palm branches which are placed on modern Moslem graves, but in most cases, at any rate, the top of the stake must always have been under the surface. The object of them clearly was to indicate to any one digging a fresh pit the existence of those previously dug.

While the majority of the tombs, as is the case with most cemeteries of the Graeco-Roman period, contained no antiquities beyond common earthenware pots, some objects of greater interest were found. One tomb, which had a plain wooden sarcophagus under a solid brick vault, yielded seven small flasks of thin black ware, with narrow red and white concentric stripes, one of similar shape, but red, and a couple of small alabaster vases (no. 1 in our inventory, see p. 59 and Pl. X[b], figs. 6, 11, 12, 18, 24). In another large tomb, which contained two limestone sarcophagi, a small blue glaze vase with lid, and a bronze tray (this now at Gizeh) were found above the foot of one, and a calcite tray inside it at the head; above the other sarcophagus were some broken calcite vases (no. 7). This tomb was much affected by damp and salt. In a third tomb, in which was no coffin, but the body was buried under bricks, there was an alabaster pot at the head, and at the feet a round two-eared pot covered by a plate, with two lamps inside, and a small black flask and bronze tray (no. 5). Similar alabaster and calcite vases were found in other tombs. Blue glaze was rare, but see Pl. X[b], fig. 3 (now at Gizeh). Lamps were, as has been said, sometimes of the shapes figured on Pl. X[b], figs. 1 and 7, but the normal form was that shown in Pl. X[b], figs. 10, 13, 15. Sometimes the small projecting handle was pierced, but frequently it was not, and in other cases the handle was omitted. Ornamentation was rarely employed; one lamp had three Cupids on it, but it was noticeable that no 'frog' lamps were found in these tombs. This kind, which is so common in Roman times, does not seem to have been introduced before the Christian era. The colour of the lamps was either black (e.g. Pl. X[b], fig. 10) or reddish-brown (e.g. Pl. X[b], figs. 13, 15), the latter being the colour of nearly all the ordinary pottery. Light yellow earthenware was rare throughout the Ptolemaic cemetery.

The commonest forms of pots were those figured on Plate XI[a], figs. 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, made generally in red earthenware, more rarely in finer and more polished black ware, and occasionally stamped with a triple leaf-shaped mark. They were sometimes at the bottom of the tombs, sometimes in the filling, while fragments of pots were scattered about on the surface of the desert in which the Ptolemaic tombs were situated. But that the tombs were not any later than the pottery is shown by the identity in shape of pots placed inside a sarcophagus beside the deceased with those found in the filling. Numerous fragments of large amphorae occurred, in several cases inscribed. Three of these (nos. 39, 43, 110) were stamped on the handles, and had been imported probably from Rhodes, but the rest were no doubt of Egyptian workmanship. The writing (late Ptolemaic or very early Roman) on these consisted generally of (1) a year, doubtless that of the vintage; (2) a numeral, either α, β, or γ, perhaps

expressing the quality; (3) the measure of capacity, nearly always five choes, abbreviated χ̂. Ptolemaic amphorae can, as a rule, be clearly distinguished from Roman by their superior polish and by the shape of the handles, which in the earlier period are generally large and raised (cf. Pl. XI[b], figs. 4, 13), while in Roman times they are small and round (Pl. XIII[b]). But amphorae with round handles, identical in shape with the Roman amphorae, were already in use in later Ptolemaic times. At Harît indeed we had only one such instance, in a tomb which from its position in the cemetery and the presence of a pottery coffin we felt sure was Ptolemaic. But our excavations at Ûmm el Baragât, where numerous round-handled amphorae were found in the Ptolemaic cemetery, have left us no doubts on the subject. Ribbing is of little use as a criterion for date, for though it was more extensively used in Roman times, Ptolemaic amphorae are often ribbed in the upper part. Beads (generally carnelian or glazed pottery) and amulets (usually blue glaze figures, Bes or rosettes) were not infrequent; and a few small coins (chiefly Ptolemaic, but two of Claudius and one of Nero) were found, one of them adhering to a mummy, the others in the filling of tombs. They show that the late Ptolemaic style of burial continued with little change well into the first century A. D.

In some parts of the cemetery were remains of buildings, the connexion of which, if any, with the tombs is not clear. For the most part the ruins were very shallow and had been already dug out. In one a tomb of the usual late Ptolemaic style had been dug, and from another part of the same building was obtained a curious wooden shield cased in leather (Pl. IX[a], now at Gizeh). But in the other cases no tombs were found actually in the houses, which all seemed to belong to the late Ptolemaic period. One of them yielded a number of late second century B. C. papyrus scraps, and several pots and lamps resembling those found in the intermediate class of tombs and in the houses round the temple (190, p. 53).

The tombs of the third or Roman class were partly to the south-east of the late Ptolemaic, between them and the temple, partly on the south side of the Ptolemaic cemetery. Those near the temple were as a whole probably somewhat earlier. Since most of the changes in pottery from the Ptolemaic to the Roman style took place in the first century A. D., and at Harit it is on the evidence mainly of pottery that late Ptolemaic tombs can be distinguished from Roman, it is very difficult to ascribe with confidence any tombs in that cemetery to the first century A. D., except a few in which first century A. D. coins were found (see p. 60). Neither at Harit nor anywhere else have we found any large and well-defined group of tombs which could be separated by their contents from the late Ptolemaic on the one hand and the second to third century Roman

on the other; nor in any town site have we obtained a sufficient quantity of certainly dated first century pots to give us a clear idea of the pottery of the transitional period. Judging by the evidence of the coins of Claudius and Nero found in tombs in which the pottery resembled that of the preceding century, the majority of the first century A.D. tombs were among the second class; but there may have been some dating from the latter part of the first century among the Roman tombs near the temple. These were small (average 2 × 1 × 2 m.) and had no sarcophagi, the bodies (which were in no cases mummified) being buried under a covering of bricks and stone, frequently with a lining of bricks round the top of the tomb. Pots were scarce, but some painted ones were found—similar to those from the houses at Harit (cf. Plates XIV[a] and XIV[b]), and from the other Roman tombs; the amphorae were of the normal Roman type, one fragment being inscribed Συρου β̄. A couple of jar stoppers, one inscribed ΔΙΔΥΜΗΣ, were also clearly Roman. In the filling of one tomb were two bronze rings with rudely cut gems.

The other Roman tombs to the south of the Ptolemaic cemetery were mere shallow slits in the ground, just large enough to admit the body which was not even placed under bricks. Roman pots, both painted and plain (see Pl. XIV[a]), were common; and some lamps of the ordinary light yellow variety and a few miscellaneous antiquities were found (p. 61). These tombs were sometimes dug in remains of houses which had stood there before that part was used as a cemetery. In neither division of the Roman tombs were there any traces of the portrait mummies which occur in several Roman cemeteries in the Fayûm.

We subjoin a list of objects from the cemetery of Harit.

From (*a*) the earlier Ptolemaic tombs come: no. 13, lamp (Pl. X[b], fig. 7) and 149, painted cinerary urn (Pl. XI[a], fig. 17), found together (*Gizeh Journ.* 33,393, 33,394); 20, small pot with handle (Pl. XI[b], fig. 14); 21, gourd; 130, black incurved bowl (Pl. XI[a], fig. 6); 131, red outcurved bowl (Pl. XI[a], fig. 8); 132, plate (Pl. XI[a], fig. 7); 133, large red bowl; 134, small ditto (*Gizeh Journ.* 33,316); 135, plate; 136, red incurved bowl; 137, smaller ditto; 138, three pieces of a red pot with black stripe (*Gizeh Journ.* 33,395); 139, small bowl (*Gizeh Journ.* 33,323); 140, tall pot with raised handle (Pl. XI[a], fig. 14, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,288); 143, handle of an amphora inscribed ερ[; 146, wooden bowl; 148, basket.

From (*b*) the intermediate tombs come: nos. 1 *a*–*f*[1] and *i*, long, thin, black flasks (1 *a*–*d*, see Pl. X[b], figs. 11, 12, 18, 24: 1 *b*, *c*, *i*, at Gizeh); 1 *h*, similar shape, but red (Pl. X[b], fig. 6, at Gizeh); 1 *k*, calcite flask (Pl. X[b], fig. 5, at Gizeh); 1 *l*, alabaster flask; 2, thin red pot with handle (Pl. X[b], fig. 16); 3 *a*, small flask

[1] Where a number is subdivided (*a*, *b*, *c*, &c.) all the objects were found in one tomb.

(at Gizeh); 3 *b*, outcurved bowl; 4 *a*, two-eared round pot (Pl. XI[a], fig. 3); 4 *b*, incurved bowl (Pl. XI[a], fig. 4); 4 *c*, lamp; 5 *a*, thin black flask; 5 *b* and *c*, alabaster flasks; 5 *d*, small incurved bowl; 5 *e*, plate; 5 *f*, large incurved bowl (Pl. XI[b], fig. 12); 5 *g* (at Gizeh) and 5 *h*, lamps; 5 *i*, two-eared round pot (*Gizeh Journ.* 33,329); 6 *a*, top of an amphora; 6 *b*, plate; 6 *c*, coarse plate (*Gizeh Journ.* 33,304); 6 *d*, small incurved bowl (*Gizeh Journ.* 33,317); 6 *e*, two-eared round pot; 7 *a*, broken alabaster pots; 7 *b*, lid of blue glaze; 7 *c*, calcite tray (Pl. X[b], fig. 17); 7 *d*, bronze tray (at Gizeh); 8 *a*, 8 *b*, 8 *c*, alabaster flasks (*a* and *b*, Pl. X[b], figs. 21, 22, both at Gizeh); 10 *a*, alabaster flask (Pl. X[b], fig. 14, at Gizeh); 10 *b*, small wooden box with bronze inside it; 10 *c*, alabaster flask; 10 *d*, very minute blue beads, Bes amulet and cowries; 11, alabaster flask; 12, alabaster flask (Pl. X[b], fig. 9); 16, alabaster flask (Pl. X[b], fig. 20); 17 *a*, thin blue glaze pot with handle (Pl. X[b], fig. 3, at Gizeh); 17 *b*, ditto; 18, small black jug (Pl. X[b], fig. 4, at Gizeh); 19, long thin pot (Pl. X[b], fig. 2); 22–29 and 34, small red lamps with handles (24 = Pl. X[b], fig. 13, now at Gizeh; 26 at Gizeh; 28 = Pl. X[b], fig. 15); 30–33, small black lamps (31, Pl. X[b], fig. 10, now at Gizeh); 35–37, lamps similar to 13 (35 = Pl. X[b], fig. 1; 37 at Gizeh); 38, wooden awl with gimlet; 39, amphora handle with a rectangular stamp containing a magistrate's name and month (cf. 43 and 110), ΕΠΙ ΜΥΤΙΟΝΟΣ|ΔΑΛΙΟΥ; 40, limestone female figure; 41, 42, small red pots; 43, amphora handle stamped ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣ|ΤΕΙΔΑ; 44, lamp with three Cupids on it; 45, 48, 52, 53, 73, fragments of painted pots; 46–47, blue glaze fragments; 49, rude wooden Osiris figure; 50, little plate; 51, terra-cotta head; 54, feet of a figure in blue glaze; 55, small pot; 67, clay doll; 68, die; 69, blue glaze and carnelian beads, small bone figure, three bronze bracelets and blue Bes amulet; 70, terra-cotta head of a goose, painted; 71, blue Bes amulets and a few carnelian and blue glaze beads; 72, blue glaze ring; 74, 77, wooden boxes; 75, two bronze rings; 76, coin of Claudius; 78, coin of Claudius; 79, coin of Nero; 80–82, Ptolemaic coins; 83, carnelian beads; 84, Bes amulet; 85, bronze ring; 86, glass centres of rings; 87, green glaze rosette; 88, gold ring with glass beads set in it, carnelian and other beads; 89, 90, 92, various beads; 95, very minute beads (at Gizeh); 104, plaster scarabs and disks (some from the early Ptolemaic tombs); 108, small black pot; 110 *a*, part of an amphora with handles stamped (cf. 39) ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥ|ΣΑΝΙΑ and ΜΙΚΥΘΟΥ|ΔΑΛΙΟC (Pl. XI[b], fig. 4, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,287); 112, wreath; 113, fragments of painted pot (*Gizeh Journ.* 33,327); 114, fragments of amphora inscribed Lιϛ χ̇; 115, ditto inscribed L]δ α χ̇; 116, ditto inscribed α χ̇ (found with 92); 119, ditto inscribed Lια/γ̄ χ̇; 120, fragment of red plate stamped AN on the bottom (at Gizeh); 121, fragment of amphora inscribed β̄ χ̇ . . .; 123, ditto inscribed Lζ α χ̇;

124, ditto inscribed]ελ$^{\eta}$ . . . $\bar{\zeta}$ $\overset{\lambda}{\chi}$; 127, black incurved bowl with leaf stamp (Pl. X^{b}, fig. 8); 128, black outcurved bowl with leaf stamp (Pl. X^{b}, fig. 19, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,113); 129, similar to 127 (Pl. X^{b}, fig. 23, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,289); 150, large two-handled pot (Pl. XI^{a}, fig. 11); 151, pot with dark red stripe on light red (Pl. XI^{a}, fig. 16); 152–160, incurved bowls (153 = *Gizeh Journ.* 33,318; 157 = *Gizeh Journ.* 33,292; 158 = *Gizeh Journ.* 33,319; 160 = *Gizeh Journ.* 33,322); 161, large bowl (Pl. XI^{b}, fig. 17); 162–9, plates (165 = *Gizeh Journ.* 33,308, 166 = *Gizeh Journ.* 33,306; 168, Pl. XI^{a}, fig. 2, = *Gizeh Journ.* 33,305; 169 = *Gizeh Journ.* 33,307); 170–4, outcurved bowls (172 = *Gizeh Journ.* 33,309; 173, Pl. XI^{a}, fig. 13; 174, Pl. XI^{a}, fig. 9, = *Gizeh Journ.* 33,310); 175, 176, round two-eared pots; 177, 178, small incurved bowls (177 = *Gizeh Journ.* 33,320); 179, incurved bowl (*Gizeh Journ.* 33,321); 180, bowl (Pl. XI^{b}, fig. 7, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,324); 181, small jug (Pl. XI^{b}, fig. 5, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,325); 182, jug (*Gizeh Journ.* 33,312); 183, similar jug (Pl. XI^{b}, fig. 8); 184, small bowl (Pl. XI^{a}, fig. 15, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,314); 185, jug (Pl. XI^{b}, fig. 6); 187, bowl (Pl. XI^{b}, fig. 2); 189, light red jug with dark red stripes (Pl. XI^{a}, fig. 12, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,293); 191, small black jug (Pl. XI^{b}, fig. 10, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,291).

(*c*) From the Roman tombs come: 9, small blue glaze pot (at Gizeh), found with a fragment of a magical papyrus (second to third century A. D.); 15 *a*, plate; 15 *b*, painted pot; 56 *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, four small flasks (56 *a*, at Gizeh; 56 *b*, *Gizeh Journ.* 33,330); 57, small red lamp; 58, 59, light yellow lamps; 60, fragment of amphora inscribed χε; 61, lamp with A stamped on the bottom; 62, box with lid; 63, blue glaze lid; 64, 65, two spindles; 66, plaster mask; 89, iron ring; 96, two bronze rings with rudely cut gems; 98, earring with fish's head; 99, leaden dish; 101, earring; 105, terra-cotta figure of a man riding a horse; 106, terra-cotta female figure; 109, small calcite pot; 126, clay jar-stopper inscribed ΔΙΔΥΜΗΣ; 127, fragment of pottery inscribed Συρου $\bar{\beta}$ (second or third century A. D.); 192–210, various pots, see Pl. XIV^{a}; 309, three walking-sticks, one having a bronze ring round the top.

The cemetery of Ḳaṣr el Banât was in a plain to the south and south-west of the town, from which it was separated by a sandy depression. We dug there for nearly a fortnight after finishing our work in the town; but after opening four or five hundred tombs and finding all objects of wood and cloth utterly ruined by damp, it was obviously vain to expect either papyrus mummies or portraits, and we moved our camp to Harit in the hope that the tombs there would be drier. As a matter of fact there was not much improvement in that respect, but the Harit cemetery was much richer in miscellaneous antiquities, especially pottery. From the information gained

there we were subsequently able to fix the dates of the similar but much poorer tombs at Ḳaṣr el Banât, though at the time we were unable to decide whether they were Ptolemaic or Roman.

The tombs were all shallow, none being more than 2½ metres deep, and the general direction was north-west to south-east, with the head at the north-west end. They were divided into five classes: (1) narrow slits 2–5 feet deep, corresponding to the poorest Roman graves at Harit (p. 59), with which they were probably contemporary. (2) Larger tombs, in which the body was under a covering of bricks, sometimes very elaborate: these correspond to the late Ptolemaic tombs at Harit, and to the better class of Roman ones near the temple. (3) Burials in pottery coffins (see Plate XII^b, figs. 8, 10, 12), either under a thick covering of bricks or in recesses at the side. These too must have been Ptolemaic, and for the most part rather early, but no cartonnage was found. (4) Burials in vaulted tombs, 1–4 feet under the surface (cf. those at Harit, p. 56). These were no doubt of the same date as class (3). In one of them was a painted wooden coffin, having an arched roof, together with a lamp and a small round pot; another contained a mummy with cloth cartonnage; and in a third we found a comb (Pl. XV, fig. 8) and a few beads. (5) Burials in limestone sarcophagi (cf. p. 56), also Ptolemaic, probably late rather than early. A gilded plaster scarab and disks were found in one of these and in some of the pottery coffins (a selection at Gizeh). The only other objects from the tombs were a small nicely-painted terra-cotta head, a small thin black flask, some bronze rings and bracelets, and some fragments of alabaster and blue-glaze pots (all Ptolemaic). Mummification was rarely employed. The ruins of a house in the cemetery, filled with débris, had a number of more or less broken up mummies. Inside two of these were some strips of papyrus, on which a few letters (first or second century A.D.) can be read.

VII. Wadfa (Philoteris) and other Sites.

The traveller from Harit by a direct line to Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn, a well-preserved temple near the west end of the Birket el Ḳurûn (see below), passes on his left hand, five miles from Harit, the ruins of an ancient village, called Wadfa by the natives (magnetic bearing from Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn 127°). The remains of buildings form an oval about 200 metres in length and half that distance in width, so that the place was much smaller than Ḳaṣr el Banât. The ruins are very shallow, not more than a foot or two in depth, except in a few places

where part of a house has been banked up by sand into a small mound. Since the site was obviously very poor and not worth digging extensively, we did not move our encampment there, a proceeding which, owing to the distance from water, would have entailed some difficulty. But as we wished to identify it, if possible, we devoted a few days' work to searching for papyri. On the first occasion when we dug there, coming over from Ḳaṣr el Banât, a strong gale made papyrus finding practically impossible; but on renewing our efforts two months later we secured enough documents (late Ptolemaic or Roman) mentioning the village of Philoteris to make certain that that was the ancient name of the place. Ten ostraca were also found, some beads, a painted pot (Roman), a few coins, bronze rings, and some surgical instruments, but nothing of particular importance.

At Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn is a well-preserved stone temple (Pl. X[a]), probably built in the Ptolemaic period, like that of Kôm Ushim, which closely resembles it (p. 30). In former days when the sumptuous Ptolemaic temples of Upper Egypt were buried in sand, Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn, in spite of its remote position, was an object of interest to travellers. Now, as is natural, it is rarely visited. but since it has been often described, we need not concern ourselves with it here. Round the temple are traces of a Graeco-Roman town, even shallower than those at Wadfa, and in most parts only a few inches in depth. Parts of two other small stone buildings are still standing. These have been considered to be subordinate temples, but that explanation seems to us doubtful. As we have stated (p. 11), Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn probably marks the site of Dionysias, and we were very anxious to verify this hypothesis by papyri found on the spot. In this however we were not destined to be successful. The only place where there was any *afsh* to be found was in a rubbish mound against the south wall of the temple, and here we turned up only some fragments of blank papyrus and a piece of pot inscribed πετ (probably early Byzantine).

'To the west of Nezleh,' says Murray's *Guide Book* (fifth edition, p. 304), 'are the sites of two ancient towns called Haráb-t-el Yahood ("the Ruins of the Jews"), and El Hammâm ("the Baths"). Neither of them presents any but crude brick remains, and the former has evidently been inhabited by Moslems, whose mud-houses still remain.' The existence of a site to the west of Nezleh, called Kharabt el Yehûdi, is also attested (in the form 'Rarhab el Yeoud') by Linant's map of the Fayûm (Brown, *ibid.*, Pl. VII). The name has always attracted us; but diligent inquiries after the site, both among inhabitants of the north-west and south-west of the Fayûm, and among those natives who are best acquainted with the antiquities of the district, have not

revealed any one who had ever heard of Kharabt el Yehûdi; and from our personal knowledge we can state that south of Harit there are no remains of any town or village on the edge of the desert until the ruins called Kharabt Hamûli are reached, somewhat south-west of Nezleh. Further south, between Kharabt Hamûli and Medinet Mâdi, there are, according to the natives, no more sites, but this we cannot verify from personal observation. Kharabt Hamûli represents what was once a fair-sized Graeco-Roman village, but like several other places in the Fayûm, it has been almost entirely destroyed by *sebakhîn*, and to expect papyri there would be vain. With regard to Kharabt el Yehûdi there are therefore three alternatives: either it still exists, in which case it must lie between Kharabt Hamûli and Medinet Mâdi, against which theory is to be set the ignorance of the natives. Secondly, it may have existed and have now disappeared under the cultivation. Or thirdly, and we think most probably, Kharabt el Yehûdi never had any existence, but is a mistaken form of Kharabt Hamûli, an error that to any one acquainted with the difficulty of ascertaining the correct names of less-known sites is quite easy to explain. The actual situation of Kharabt Hamûli agrees with the supposed site of Kharabt el Yehûdi as indicated both by the guide-book and by Linant's map, though the latter unfortunately is so inaccurate that it is difficult to draw any certain inferences from it. Linant places his 'Rarhab el Yeoud' on the edge of the desert to the south-west of Nezleh, but on the other hand he puts it north of the westward bend in the hills which separate the Fayûm from the Wadi Rayân, and indicates an old canal running west from it in the direction of Ḳaṣr Ḳurûn. If we were to consider the position of Linant's Kharabt el Yehûdi not in relation to Nezleh but to the desert hills and the Birket el Ḳurûn, Harit would be a better site for it than Kharabt Hamûli, which is some way south of the corner where the hills recede to the west.

A similar difficulty occurs in connexion with Medinet Hâti, which is placed by Linant to the west of Medinet Mâdi, and is mentioned along with Medinet Mâdi and Kharabt en Nishan in Murray's *Guide-book* (*loc. cit.*). Neither Medinet Hâti nor Kharabt en Nishan seems to be known in the Gharaḳ district, but probably one of them is identical with Medinet Nehâs, the high-sounding name of an insignificant site at the extreme south-west corner of the Gharaḳ basin.

VIII. The Coins.

The coins brought to England from the excavations at Karanis and Bacchias in 1895–96 consisted of three hoards, almost entirely composed of

debased silver tetradrachms of the Alexandrian mint and of Roman period. As they thus belong to the same class, they may conveniently be treated together; and, since I hope to give a full account of the types represented in these hoards in an early number of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, it will be unnecessary here to do more than briefly summarize their general characteristics, and point out what evidence they furnish as to the history of Egypt during the period immediately preceding their deposit.

[1] KARANIS.

In a small pot found at Karanis were 91 Roman tetradrachms, belonging to the issues of the following emperors: Claudius, 3; Nero, 49; Galba, 2; Vespasian, 4; Trajan, 4; Hadrian, 18; Antoninus Pius, 7; Marcus Aurelius, 2; Lucius Verus, 2. The latest in date was of the tenth year of Marcus Aurelius, 169–170 A.D., which may be taken as approximately furnishing the time of burial of the hoard.

[2] BACCHIAS.

Three large amphorae, which were filled with coins, numbering in all 4421, were dug out of the cellar of a house at Bacchias. Of the coins two were Ptolemaic, both too much worn for certain identification, one was a large bronze of Antoninus Pius, and the remainder were tetradrachms, classified thus: Claudius, 361; Nero, 2757; Galba, 191; Otho, 58; Vitellius, 19; Vespasian, 235; Titus, 31; Domitian, 1; Nerva, 22; Trajan, 89; Hadrian, 561; Sabina, 6; Aelius Caesar, 5; Antoninus Pius, 73; Marcus Aurelius, 8; Lucius Verus, 1. Of these the latest was of the fifth year of Marcus Aurelius, 164–165 A.D.

A smaller hoard from the same town consisted of 62 tetradrachms, the latest being of the twelfth year of Hadrian, 127–128 A.D., distributed as follows: Claudius, 5; Nero, 44; Galba, 2; Otho, 1; Vespasian, 6; Trajan, 1; Hadrian, 3.

These three finds together furnish an interesting clue to the activity of the Alexandrian mint during the first two centuries of the Roman empire in Egypt, and so assist to show the comparative prosperity of the country throughout the same period; for it may fairly be presumed that the number of coins annually put into circulation would be regulated by the demand. The imperial tetradrachms are of special importance in this connexion, for they, from the time of Tiberius to that of Diocletian, supplied the Egyptian standard both for internal and external exchange, and—with the exception of a few coins struck under Claudius—were the only silver, or nominally silver, issue of the Roman government for Egypt. The bronze coinage for lower values was always irregular, and apparently based on the local value of the tetradrachm; and after the reign of

Commodus it was entirely dropped, except for occasional issues to commemorate special events, which partake almost as much of the nature of medals as of coins.

The great hoard of Bacchias may be taken to give reliable data concerning the numbers of coins belonging to the mintage of each year which were in circulation at the time of its deposit. Its size allows the presumption that the numbers actually contained in it are a fair average of the total in circulation, and the comparative state of the coins shows that they were all collected at approximately the same time, the wear of the various specimens being almost invariably proportionate to their age. In view of these facts, it is worth while to classify the contents of this hoard according to the years of issue. The result gives[1]—

A. D. 41–2 [Claudius], 57; 42–3, 91; 43–4, 59; 44–5, 21; 45–6, 133; 56–7 [Nero], 137; 57–8, 59; 58–9, 185; 59–60, 33; 62–3, 6; 63–4, 319; 64–5, 565; 65–6, 612; 66–7, 504; 67–8, 262 + [Galba], 118 (Total, 380); 68–9, 73 + [Otho] 58 + [Vitellius] 19 + [Vespasian] 39 (Total, 189); 69–70, 176; 70–71, 17; 75–6, 3; 79–80 [Titus], 9; 80–81, 22; 86–7 [Domitian], 1; 96–7 [Nerva], 22; 101–2 [Trajan], 13; 102–3, 7; 103–4, 1; 104–5, 1; 105–6, 3; 107–8, 6; 110–11, 1; 111–12, 16; 112–13, 2; 114–15, 6; 115–16, 12; 116–17, 21; 117–18 [Hadrian], 13; 118–19, 19; 119–20, 21; 120–1, 17; 121–2, 23; 123–4, 13; 124–5, 20; 125–6, 56; 126–7, 24; 127–8, 37; 128–9, 44; 129–30, 31; 130–1, 46; 131–2, 35; 132–3, 21; 133–4, 26; 134–5, 32; 135–6, 38; 136–7, 31; 137–8, 25; 138–9 [Antoninus Pius], 12; 139–40, 12; 140–1, 12; 141–2, 2; 142–3, 2; 143–4, 10; 144–5, 5; 145–6, 2; 146–7, 2; 147–8, 4; 148–9, 3; 150–1, 3; 151–2, 2; 152–3, 1; 154–5, 1; 157–8, 1; 158–9, 2; 159–60, 1; 160–1 [Aurelius and Verus], 1; 161–2, 3; 162–3, 1; 164–5, 1[2].

It will be observed that the coinage of Tiberius is entirely unrepresented in this hoard. From the comparative rarity with which specimens of his reign occur, it would seem that very few tetradrachms were then struck, and that the regular issue of any important quantity of these coins began in the second year of Claudius (41–2 A.D.). Considerable numbers were struck in this and the four following years, after which the demand appears to have been supplied, and no further issue took place for ten years. In the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth years of Nero the mint was again busy; but no coins of the two next years are known, and a few only of the ninth year. The tenth year however saw a very large number of tetradrachms put into circulation, and still larger numbers were sent out in the three following years; so great indeed was the output of this

[1] It should be remembered that Alexandrian coins are dated by the Egyptian year, beginning on August 29. In the following classification the year is given first, then the number of coins of the year, the names of the reigning emperors being bracketed.

[2] Seventy-five coins of Nero cannot be classed under years, being so mis-struck that the date is not shown.

period, that in the hoard now under consideration, buried more than a century after the issue of the coins, in spite of the natural waste of specimens in the interval the issues of the tenth year of Nero represent 7·2 per cent. of the whole; those of the eleventh, 12·7 per cent.; those of the twelfth, 13·8 per cent.; and those of the thirteenth, 11·4 per cent. In the following year—the last of Nero and first of Galba—the numbers are still very large, 8·5 per cent. of the hoard; but they drop to half this amount in the next two years, and the issue ceases after the third year of Vespasian. A few coins are found of the eighth year of Vespasian and the second and third years of Titus; but there is only one specimen in the hoard of the coinage of Domitian, whose tetradrachms are extremely rare in spite of his sixteen years' reign. The accession of Nerva was marked by a fresh issue; but the regular annual coinage does not appear to have recommenced till the fifth year of Trajan, after which there are a few specimens of each year, the numbers increasing towards the end of his reign; and under Hadrian the issue once more assumed fair dimensions. But very shortly after the accession of Antoninus Pius, the output dwindled away; and the last twenty years before the burial of the hoard are represented in it by an average of about one coin per year.

It is difficult to summarize the exact meaning of the figures given without some basis upon which to judge the annual waste of these tetradrachms during the period under consideration. The evidence is not sufficient for precise calculations; but, from a comparison of the numbers found in the three hoards described above, it would seem that a loss of one-half per cent. yearly of the tetradrachms in circulation is not above the mark. Granting this, the following conclusions may be formed.

There was a demand for a largely increased issue of tetradrachms early in the reign of Claudius, which was satisfied by the coinage of the five years 41 to 46. Ten years later there was a fresh issue, slightly larger than the quantity required to meet the waste of the interval; and in 63 there commenced a coinage of such extent as must in five years have doubled the number of tetradrachms in circulation. After 70 the output diminished rapidly, and for fifteen years—81 to 96—the mint, so far as regards silver coinage, was practically idle. Even after the annual issue had recommenced, it was very small, averaging under Trajan only about one-fourth of the annual waste, and thus showing that the supply of coins in circulation considerably exceeded the demand. In the reign of Hadrian however the supply and demand appear to have been balanced, as the issue was about sufficient to meet the waste. The demand again dropped in the time of Antoninus Pius, and consequently hardly any fresh coins were struck during the rest of the period under consideration.

A point worthy of notice is that, the busier the mint was, the fewer different types seem to have been used. The great issue of the twelfth year of Nero consisted entirely of two types (nos. 163 and 168 in the British Museum Catalogue), of the former of which there were no less than 582 specimens in the great hoard of Bacchias—more than one-eighth of the whole—and a similar proportion in the smaller hoards, 12 out of 91 and 7 out of 62 respectively. In the years immediately following this, when the issue was falling off, about half-a-dozen types were in use; and, for the still smaller output of the early years of Nero, about ten. But in the later period, under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus, there are nearly as many types as coins in the hoards, except during the time of activity in the last ten years of Hadrian's reign, when the thirty or forty specimens of each year belong to three or four types only. It would appear, therefore, that the designing and execution of fresh types were practised by the officials of the Alexandrian mint to fill up their leisure time, when there was no great demand for fresh supplies of coinage.

In this connexion it may also be noted that the chief issues of bronze from the time of Augustus onwards were made in the reigns when the least amount of billon was struck. This agrees with the conclusion just reached with regard to the types of the billon tetradrachms, since, as has been observed already, the bronze coinage of Alexandria was comparatively unimportant for purposes of circulation, and was mainly of a commemorative character. Thus, just as in times of slackness the mint officials employed themselves in designing varied types for the billon series, so they found another occupation in striking bronze coins to celebrate events which happened to interest them. This fact explains the great rarity of bronze of Nero, which is especially noticeable in comparison with the enormous issues of billon in his reign; and with this may be contrasted the coinage of Domitian, whose billon is very uncommon, while his bronze types are more numerous than those of any of his predecessors. From the time of the latter emperor to that of Aurelius, as previously shown, the output of billon tetradrachms was as a rule unimportant; but this is just the period during which bronze was most extensively struck and in the greatest variety of types at the Alexandrian mint, and which covers the whole issue of the most purely medallic of all the Alexandrian bronze—the series of 'Nome coins.'

In the course of the excavations of 1898–99 no hoards were found as in the earlier year's work; but all the coins which were turned up were carefully preserved, and are of interest as giving some clue to the period during which the various sites were inhabited, as well as including a few new types. It may therefore be worth while to give a brief catalogue of the specimens[1].

[1] To save space I have given the number of the type in the British Museum Catalogue (B.), or, failing

[3] EUHEMERIA.

PTOLEMAIC COPPER.

Epiphanes . . B. 47 : B. 74.
Euergetes II . B. 69.
Soter II . . B. 34 (eleven specimens).
Cleopatra VII B. 4 (three specimens) : B. 6.

ALEXANDRIAN IMPERIAL.

Augustus . . (**3B**). B. 26.
Livia . . . (**2B**). M. 51 : M. 56 ? (two specimens).
Claudius . . (**3B**). B. 80 : B. 84.
Nero . . . (**Bi**). B. 112 : B. 124 : B. 136 : B. 163. (**2B**). B. 185.
Galba . . . (**Bi**). B. 197 : D. 268.
Vespasian . . (**Bi**). B. 232 : B. 243. (**2B**). M. 308 : B. 264 : B. 265 : B. 267. (**3B**). B. 276.
Domitian . . (**2B**). M. 428. (**3B**). B. 318.
Nerva . . . (**Bi**). B. 351.
Trajan . . . (**Bi**). ⟨B. 361⟩. (**1B**). B. 465.
Hadrian . . (**Bi**). B. 644 : B. 648 : ⟨B. 657⟩. (**1B**). B. 739 ? : B. 876.
Antoninus . . (**Bi**). ⟨B. 977⟩ : ⟨B. 983⟩. (**1B**). D. 1929 ? : ⟨B. 1144⟩ : B. 1152 ? : B. 1180 ?
Faustina II . (**1B**). B. 1337 ?
Aurelius . . (**2B**). M. 2117 ?
Aurelian . . (**Bi**). M. 3472 ? : B. 2365 : B. 2384.
Diocletian . . (**Bi**). B. 2511 (two specimens) : obv. type, B. 2474, rev. B. 2216 : as B. 2531, but rev. in field L A. : ?.
Maximian . . (**Bi**). ⟨B. 2551⟩ : ⟨B. 2572⟩.

NOME-COIN.

Arsinoite nome B. 74.

ROMAN IMPERIAL [1].

Diocletian . . C. 114 (ex. ALE .f. XX $\overset{B}{\text{I}}$).
Licinius . . C. 116 (ex. [ ]ANT .f. Є).
Constantine I . C. 86 (ex. ?) : C. 760 (ex. SMALE ?) : ditto (ex. CONS.) : ?.
Urbs Roma . C. 19 (ex. SMKΔ).

this, in Mionnet (M.) or Feuardent's Catalogue of the Demetrio Collection (D.). Where a ? is added, the condition of the specimen, or, in the case of the Mionnet and Demetrio references, the insufficient description in the catalogues, makes the identification doubtful : where the number is in angular brackets, there is a minor difference from the type. (**Bi**) marks billon tetradrachms : (**1B**) (**2B**) (**3B**) bronze of three different sizes.

[1] The types of the Roman imperial coins are given from Cohen (C.), with the letters of the exergue and field added in each case where decipherable.

Constantius II As C. 167, but rev. PROVIDENTIAECAESS (ex. SMNΔ): C. 167 (ex. SMANTH): C. 46 (ex. ALEB): ditto (ex. ALEΔ?): C. 47 (ex. ALE).

Julian . . . C. 151 (ex. CVZB).

Indecipherable. Alexandrian billon, four (late third century): first bronze, five (probably Hadrian or Antoninus): second bronze, one (first century): third bronze, two: Roman imperial bronze, two (fourth century).

[4] THEADELPHIA.

PTOLEMAIC COPPER.

Euergetes I . B. 17?: B. 125.
Philopator . . B. 42 (two specimens).
Epiphanes . . B. 74.
Euergetes II . B. 72: B. 127.
Soter II . . B. 34 (thirty-one specimens).
Cleopatra VII B. 4.

ALEXANDRIAN IMPERIAL.

Augustus . . (**2B**). Obv., head right laureate; rev., capricorn right, behind LAH, in exergue ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟ[Σ.
Claudius . . (**2B**). B. 82.
Nero . . . . (**Bi**). B. 114.
Vespasian . . (**2B**). B. 254?: M. 327.
Domitian . . (**2B**). B. 300: B. 320.
Trajan . . . (**1B**). ⟨B. 398⟩: ⟨B. 402⟩: B. 512?: ?. (**3B**). Obv., ΑΥΤ ΤΡΑΙΑΝCЄ ΒΓΕΡΜΔΑΚΙΚ, head right laureate; rev., hawk right, wearing skhent, on bar, in field LI A.
Hadrian . . (**1B**). B. 714; B. 750?: ⟨B. 753⟩: B. 785?
Antoninus . . (**1B**). ⟨B. 1015⟩: B. 1105?: B. 1159?. (**2B**). 1175?.
Faustina II . (**1B**). ⟨B. 1338⟩.
Verus . . . (**1B**). D. 2212?.
Gordianus III (**Bi**). B. 1879.
Gallienus . . (**Bi**). B. 2164.
Carus . . . (**Bi**). B. 2447.

ROMAN IMPERIAL.

Licinius. . . C. 74 (ex. SMNΔ, f. ΓIΓ).
Constantine I . C. 21 (ex. SMNΔ).
Constantius II C. 103 (ex. SM[. .]): ?

Indecipherable. Alexandrian first bronze, one (second century): second bronze, one (first century): Roman Imperial, six (fourth century).

[5] PHILOTERIS.

PTOLEMAIC COPPER.

Philometor or *Euergetes II* } ?

Soter II . . B. 34 (two specimens).

Cleopatra VII B. 4.

ALEXANDRIAN IMPERIAL.

Claudius . . (**2B**). B. 92?

Vespasian . . (**2B**). B. 264. (**3B**). B. 275?.

Hadrian . . (**1B**). B. 794?: B. 798?: C. 800?: ?: ?.

Antoninus . . (**Bi**). ⟨B. 938⟩: (**1B**). B. 1068?

Aurelius . . (**1B**). Obv. ΜΑΥΡΗΛΙΟ [ ]. Bust, right, bare: rev., eagle, right, looking back, wings open, wreath in beak; in field L I.

Sev. Alexander (**1B**). Obv., ΑΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΡCΕΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟCευcε. Bust, right, laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass: rev., Nilus reclining left on rocks, crowned with lotus, himation over lower limbs, in right hand reed, in left cornucopiae, from which issues a genius: in front palm, in exergue crocodile right, above, LI.

Claudius II . (**Bi**). B. 2333.

Aurelian . . (**Bi**). ⟨B. 2371⟩.

Probus . . . (**Bi**). B. 2413: B. 2427.

ROMAN IMPERIAL.

Constans . . C. 50 (ex. SMALA).

Indecipherable. Ptolemaic copper, one.

The only new coins in the foregoing lists which call for special notice are the bronze of Augustus from Theadelphia, which is of a year hitherto unrepresented in the dated series of his coinage: and the coin of Severus Alexander from Philoteris, which adds an interesting type to the bronze series of the tenth year of that reign.

In addition to the coins above enumerated, a few leaden pieces were found—two at each of the three sites excavated in 1898–99. Such leaden pieces have been turned up in considerable numbers in different parts of Egypt, but have not hitherto received the attention they deserve. The only systematic study which has been made of them is in a series of articles by Rostovtsew (*Rev. Numismatique* 1898, 1899), who recognizes that they form an entirely distinct class from the leaden tickets found in other parts of the Greek and Roman spheres of influence. Their types, which are in the majority of cases copied from those of the Alexandrian coinage, and the fact that in several instances they are dated by a regnal year, distinctly suggest that they were struck under some kind of official sanction.

The best known of these leaden pieces is the following:—Obv.: ΜΕΜΦΙϹ. Isis advancing left, clothed in a long robe and wearing disk and horns, holding in right hand a serpent, and followed by bull Apis. Rev.: Nilus seated left on a rock, holding in right reed, in left cornucopiae; before him Euthenia holding a crown towards him. It has been usually acknowledged that this leaden piece was a local Memphite token[1]; but other specimens of the same class, without however any inscription upon them, have been put aside as unworthy of notice. The fact that in hardly any instance has a record been preserved of the place where these specimens were found, has added to the neglect with which they have been treated.

The collection of leaden pieces in the Alexandria Museum contains several obvious copies of current coins; among others, of copper pieces of Euergetes II, of third century victoriati, and of fifth century Alexandrian folles. These were possibly struck for fraudulent purposes; but a number of others, which, while not exactly reproducing the regal or imperial coinage, still conformed roughly to the style of coins, may equally have been designed for circulation as money, but with a more legitimate issue.

The excavations at Oxyrhynchus first supplied a large group of these leaden pieces of known *provenance*. In all 135 were found there, for the most part unfortunately in bad preservation. With six exceptions however all that showed any clear traces of the type had on the obverse a figure of Nike flying to the left, carrying a palm-branch and holding out a wreath—a rough copy of a reverse-type of Vespasian—and in front the letters Ο̣, which clearly must be taken as the first two letters of the name of the town, and thus supply a ground for classing these with the leaden tokens of Memphis. The reverses also usually represent Athena, the local deity of Oxyrhynchus according to the Alexandrian theologians; sometimes a bust, wearing a Corinthian helmet, sometimes a figure of Athena Promachos, and sometimes a temple with the statue of Athena inside.

Among the pieces from the Fayûm is one which, like those of Memphis and Oxyrhynchus, bears a local name. The obverse type is a head: on the reverse is a much-defaced inscription, of which all that can be deciphered is



[1] This is the view taken by A. de Longperier (*Rev. Num.* 1861, p. 407), Feuardent (*Catal. Demetrio*, II. 3,577) and R. S. Poole (*Brit. Mus. Catal. of Coins, Alexandria*, p. xcvii).

It is tempting to read this ΑΡϹ[ΙΝ]ΟΕ[ΙΤ]ΩΝ, supposing the inscription to follow the edge of the piece in the first and third lines and to end across the middle in the second. In any case, the legend must be connected with the Arsinoite nome, in which the piece was found. With this may be classed a leaden token in the Bibliothèque Nationale (no. 680 in the catalogue of M. Rostovtsew and M. Prou, *Revue Numismatique*, 1899), which has on the obverse Tyche reclining left, on the reverse the legend ΑΡϹΙΝΟΙΤΩΝΠΟΛΕΩϹ.

Of the other specimens from the Fayûm, two show on one side Sarapis seated left on a throne, on the other Nilus reclining left, both well-known coin-types; and a third has on each side a bust, one of which is that of Nilus with a cornucopiae behind, while the other is too defaced for identification. Another has an unusual figure, unfortunately very battered, which appears to be human down to the waist, and to end in a serpent—on its left hand is a cornucopiae, on its right perhaps a genius: this probably represents Nilus.

For the determination of the use to which these leaden pieces were put, two specimens already published are of primary importance. The first is a Memphite token, described by A. de Longperier (*Rev. Numism.* 1861, p. 407), which has on the obverse the bull Apis, on the reverse Nilus and Euthenia, with the legend ΟΒΟΛΟΙ Β; the second, published by A. Engel (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884, p. 10), bears the legend ΤΡΙΩΒΟ. These legends, as the writers cited recognize, show that the pieces represented a definite monetary value; and they naturally concluded that there was a leaden token-coinage of low denominations. M. Rostovtsew, however, in his study (*Rev. Numism.* 1899, p. 57), argues that the clue to the proper interpretation is given by a piece formerly at Athens, but now lost, which is said to have had the legend on the obverse ϹΥΝ Β ΟΛΟΝ. From this he concludes that these leaden pieces were receipts for the payment of taxes, for which an additional fee of a few obols was charged, and that this additional fee is the value given in the legends above noted. This explanation, however, does not agree with what is known of the practices of tax-collection in Egypt. It is true that a special fee was charged for the receipts given by the tax-collectors to the payers, which is frequently mentioned in tax-receipts under the name of συμβολικά (cf. p. 161); but the σύμβολον was a written document (cf. p. 125), and it hardly appears probable that, after the tax-collector had written out his receipt on an ostracon or a piece of papyrus, he should give a further receipt for his fee in the shape of a leaden token.

Taking into consideration the facts that these leaden pieces were clearly struck locally, as shown by the names upon them, that in some cases at any rate they had a given denomination, and that they follow in most

instances recognized coin-types, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they were used as token-money for low values. Their style, in most examples, suggests the second or third century A.D., in the later part of which period the issue by the imperial mint of any coins other than tetradrachms had entirely ceased. The need of some lower denominations, to represent the obols and chalci in which payments were regularly expressed, must have been urgent; and yet no coins are found later than Antonine bronze which can have been used for this purpose, unless the leaden pieces are accepted as such. The only alternative is to suppose that any payment of less amount than a tetradrachm must have been made in kind: which does not appear to be supported by third century papyri. It is to be trusted that future work on Roman sites may throw further light on this problem.

Another question which can only be suggested here, in the hope that further exact records of the *provenance* of pieces found in Egypt may solve the problem, is, how far the nome-coins of Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus were intended for local emission in the nomes whose names they bear. At Oxyrhynchus, three nome-coins were found, two of the Oxyrhynchite nome and one of the neighbouring Arsinoite nome. In the collections now under consideration there is one only—of the Arsinoite nome, from Euhemeria. So far as this scanty evidence goes, it would seem to favour the idea that the nome-coins were actually issued in the places for which they were struck.

PART III. TEXTS.

I. CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

I. CHARITON, *Chaereas and Callirrhoë*, iv. 2, 3.

Kôm Ushim. 27·2 x 16·5 *cm.* Frontispiece.

A fragment from a roll containing Chariton's romance, *Chaereas and Callirrhoë*. Parts of three consecutive columns are preserved, covering the greater part of the second and the beginning of the third chapter of the fourth book; but the first and third columns are badly broken, and the whole papyrus

is much defaced and discoloured. For the identification of the fragment we are indebted to Professor O. Crusius.

The personal history of the romance-writers is perhaps involved in greater obscurity than is the case with any other class of ancient writers; and in no instance is the absence of external evidence more conspicuous than in that of the author of *Chaereas and Callirrhoë*. Absolutely nothing is known of him beyond what may be inferred from the work itself, which, as may be imagined, has led different critics to widely divergent conclusions. It has often been supposed that even the name Chariton is no more than a *nom de plume*. Latterly, however, E. Rohde (*Rhein. Mus.* xlviii. pp. 139 sqq.), on the strength of certain inscriptions (C. I. G. 2782, 2783, 2846) which show that the names Chariton and Athenagoras were in use at Aphrodisias in Caria, has argued that our author's description of himself in the opening words of his book as 'Chariton of Aphrodisias, secretary of Athenagoras the advocate (ῥήτορος),' is to be taken literally.

But a more important question is the epoch at which he flourished; for the story possesses peculiar features which render its date a matter of much interest for the history of the development of the Greek romance. *Chaereas and Callirrhoë* is distinguished by a simplicity of both structure and style from most compositions of its class. Since this contrast appears to be the result of conscious choice on the part of the author, who wished to make a new departure, the general tendency of modern critics has been to place Chariton late in the evolution of this form of literature. Rohde, for instance (*Griechische Roman*, pp. 485–498), treats him last in the series of 'sophist-romancers'; and, without assigning a specific date, by implication makes him at least not earlier than the end of the third century, since he is supposed to have imitated Heliodorus, who, Rohde thinks, may have been a contemporary of Aurelian. Both Chariton and Heliodorus have often been brought down much later than this. Schmid, however (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl. s. v.* Chariton), takes a different view. With regard to the supposed imitation by Chariton of other writers, he considers that there is no proof which was the imitator and which the model; and chiefly from the fact that *Chaereas and Callirrhoë* has a historical setting, which he regards as an early characteristic, and from an analysis of the style of the work, arrives at the conclusion that Chariton may have written as early as the second century, or at least not later than the beginning of the third.

The soundness of Schmid's criticism is now fully established by the discovery of this papyrus. It is written in a small upright uncial hand, rather similar in type to that of the Homeric scholia in Ox. Pap. II, No. 221, but more

regular and carefully formed. The scribe shows a tendency to vary the size of his letters in different parts of a column; and he once (II. 57 οικετων) lapses into a cursive ϵ. But the papyrus as a whole presents a decidedly neat and well-written appearance. No stops, breathings, or accents occur. There is the usual sprinkling of clerical errors, some of which are corrected by the original scribe, others by a second hand. It is very improbable that the Oxyrhynchus scholia are later than the second century; and we should assign this Chariton papyrus to about the same period. At the latest it may belong to the early decades of the third century. It was found in a tomb of the same kind as those in which were the lyric fragment (ii) and the Latin accounts (cv), both of which were most probably written about the middle or latter part of the second century. It was, moreover, actually accompanied by fragments of two or three cursive documents, which approximately belong to the time of Commodus, and one of which mentions the 19th year; this can at latest be the 19th of Caracalla. If Chariton had become sufficiently well known at the end of the second century to find admirers in an obscure village in the Fayûm, we may conclude with some confidence that his book was not composed after A.D. 150, and that more probably it goes back to the beginning of the second century, or may even fall within the first.

The evidence for the text of *Chaereas and Callirrhoë* has hitherto been a single manuscript at Florence, of the thirteenth century. The discovery of this papyrus, which is nearer by a thousand years to the author, and was probably written within a century from the date of the publication of his work, provides a valuable criterion for testing the worth of our sole authority. As might be expected, the papyrus shows a number of variations, which are mostly improvements, from the text of the Florentinus. But the divergences are after all not very considerable; and the general effect of the comparison is rather to increase our respect for the much depreciated Florentine manuscript.

Col. I.

. . . . . .

[ζετο μονος πλεο]ν̣ε̣κ̣τ̣ω̣ν̣ ε̣ν̣ τ̣[οις]
[πονοις ηδεως ι]ν̣[α περισ]ωσηι τ[ον
[φιλον και ουτοι μεν ησαν ε]ν̣ τ[οι
[αυταις συμφοραις οψε] μ̣ε̣ταμαν
[θανοντες την ελευθεριαν ο] δ̣ε μι̣
[θριδατης ο σατρα]π̣η̣ς̣ επανηλ

[θεν εις καριαν ο]υ τοιουτος οποιος
[εις μιλητον ε]ξ̣η̣λ̣θ̣εν αλλ ωχ̣ρος
[τε και λεπτος ο]ια δη τραυμα εχων
[εν τη ψυχη] θερμον τε και δριμ̣υ̣
[τηκομενος] δε υ̣π̣ο̣ του καλλιρο
[ης ερωτος π]αντως αν ετελευτη
[σεν ει μη τοια]σδε τινος ετυχεν
[παραμυθιας] των εργατων τι
[νες των αμα] χαιρεαι δεδεμε
[νων εξ και δε]κα ησαν τον αριθμ̣ο̣[ν
[εν οικισκωι σ]κοτεινωι καθ[ειργμε
[νοι νυκτωρ δ]ιακοψαντ[ες τα
[δεσμα τον επ]ιστατην απεσφαξ[αν
[ειτα δρασμον] επεχ̣ειρουν αλλ ου
[διεφυγον οι γα]ρ κ[υ]νες φ̣[υλασσο]ν̣
[τες εμηνυσαν αυτο]υ̣ς φ̣[ωρα]θ̣ε̣ν
[τες ουν εκεινης της ν]υκτος
[εδεθησαν ε]πιμελ[εστ]ε̣ρον
[εν ξυλωι πα]ν̣τ̣ε̣ς [. . . . . . .] . [.]
[. . . . .] . ο̣ οικο[νομος
[εμηνυσε μι]θριδατηι [το̣ συμβαν

Col. II.

[καικ]εινος ο̣[υδε ιδων αυτους
[ουδ α]πολογουμ[ενων ακουσας
[ευθ]υς εκελευ[σε τους εξ και δεκα
[τους] ομοσκην[ους αν]ασ[ταυρωσα]ι
[προ]ηχθησαν ουν ποδας τε και
[τραχ]ηλους συνδεδεμεν[ο]ι και
[εκασ]τος αυτων τον στα[υρον
[εφερε] τηι γα̣[ρ] αναγκαια[ι τι]μ̣ω̣
[ριαι και τ]ην εξωθε φαντ[ασ]ιαν
[σ]κυθρωπην προσεθεσα[ν ο]ι κο

]π̣ι̣
[λαζοντες ε]ις φοβου παρα[δειγμα
[τοις] ομ[οιοις χ]αιρεας μεν ο̣[υ]ν̣ σ̣υ̣ν
[απαγο]μενος εσιγα πολυχ[αρμος
δε [το]ν σταυρον βαστασας δ̣[ια σ]ε̣
[φησι]ν̣ ω καλλιρο̣η ταυτα πασχο
[μεν συ] παντων ημειν των κα
[κων αι]τια τουτον δη τον λογον
[ο οικο]νομος ακουσας εδοξεν
[ειναι τι]να γυναικα την συνιδυιαν
[τοις τετο]λμημενοις οπως ουν
[και εκ]ε[ι]νηι κολασθηι και ζητη
[σις] γ̣[ε]νηται της επιβουλης τα
[χεως τον πο]λυχαρμον απορρηξας
[της κοινης α]λυ[σ]εως προς μιθρι
[δατην ηγαγ]ε̣ν̣ ο̣ δ εν [πα]ραδεισωι
[κατεκειτο μο]νος αλ̣[υω]ν και
[καλλιροην] αναπ[λαττων εα]υ̣τωι
[τοιαυτην ο]ποιαν [ειδε πενθο]υσαν
[ολος δε ων] επι [της επινοιας εκει
[νης και τον] οικε[την αηδως εθεα
[σατο τι γαρ] μοι φ[ησιν παρενοχλεις
[αναγκαιο]ν̣ ειπ[εν ω δεσποτα
[την γαρ πη]γην [ανευρηκα του
[μεγαλου] τ̣ολμ[ηματος και ου
τ[ος ο κατα]ρατο[ς επισταται γυναι
κα̣ μ̣[ιαραν] συνπ̣[ραξασαν τωι φονωι
α[κουσας] ο̣ μ̣ι̣θ̣[ριδατης συνη
[γαγε τας] οφρυς και δε[ινον ι
δ̣ω̣[ν λεγε] φησιν την συν[ιδυιαν
[ε]μ̣ι̣ν̣
[και κοινω]νον των αδικημ[α
τ̣[ων ο δε] πολυχαρχος εξαρ[νος ην
ε[ιδεναι] μηδε γαρ ολως της
π[ραξε]ως κεκοινωνηκεν[αι
[μαστιγες] ητουντο και πυρ ε̣

πε̣[φερε]τ[ο] και βασανιστηριω[ν
ην π̣[αρα]σκευη και τις ηδη κ̣α̣ι̣ του
σω[μα]τος απτομενος αυτου λεγε
φη[σι]ν τουνομα της γυναικος ην
αιτ[ια]ν̣ ω̣μολογησας ειναι σοι των
κα[κων] καλλιροην ειπεν ο πολυχαρ
μ[ος επ]ληξε τουνομα μιθριδατην κα[ι]
[ατυχ]η τ[ι]να εδοξεν ομωνυμιαν
[τω]ν γυναικων ουκετ ουν προθυμ[ως
[ηθ]ελεν εξελεγχειν δεδοικως μη [κα
ταστη ποτε εις αναγκην υβρισαι το
[η]διάστον ονομα των ⟦ηκεουν⟧
[δε] φιλων και των οικετων [

Col. III.

3 or 4 lines lost.

θ̣ε̣ν̣ [αξουσιν αυτην ο δε αθλιος εν
αμη[χανιαι γενομενος καταψευ

2 lines lost.

τ̣[ου]ν̣τ̣ε̣ς̣ ο̣υ̣ π̣α̣ρ̣[ουσαν καλλιρο
την
η̣ς̣ ε̣γ̣[ω] σ̣υ̣ρ̣α̣κ̣[ουσιας εμνημονευ
σα θυγατ[ρος ερμοκρατους του στρα
τηγου τ̣α̣υ̣τ̣[α ακουσας μιθριδατης ερυ
θημα[τος ενεπλησθη και ιδρου
[τα ενδον και που και δακρυον αυ
τ̣ου μ̣[η θελοντος προυπεσεν ωστε
και τον π̣[ολυχαρμον διασιωπησαι
και παν[τ]α̣ς̣ [απορειν τους παροντας
οψε δε κ̣[αι μολις ο μιθριδατης
συναγαγω̣ν̣ [εαυτον τι δε σοι φησιν
. . [
προς καλλιροη̣[ν εκεινην και δια
τι μελλω[ν α]π̣ο̣[θνησκειν εμνη
μονε̣[υ]σας αυτ[ης οδε απεκρι

νατο μακρο[ς ο μυθος ω δεσποτα
[και προ]ς ουδ[εν ετι χρησιμος μοι ουκ ε
[νοχλησω] δε σ[ε ληρων ακαιρως

About 12 lines lost.

[γησαι π]ερι καλ[λιροης και τις ο
[φιλος η]ρξατο ο[υν ο πολυχαρμος λε
σ[
[γειν] ημεις οι δ[υο δεσμωται συρα
[κουσι]οι γεν[ος εσμεν αλλ ο
[μεν ετερ]ος νεα[νισκος πρω
[τος σικε]λιας δ[οξηι τε και πλου
[τωι και ευ]μορφ[ιαι ποτε εγω δε
[ευτελη]ς με[ν συνφοιτητης δε ε
κε[ι]νου και φιλος κ[αταλιπον
τες ουν τους γονει[ς εξεπλευ
σαμεν της π[ατριδος εγω μεν
δ[ι ε]κεινον [εκεινος δε δια γυ
[ν]αικα καλλιρο[ην τουνομα
[ην δ]οξασαν α[ποτεθνηκεναι εθα
[ψε πολυ]τελω[ς τυμβωρυχοι
δ[ε] ζωσ[α]ν ευ[ροντες εις ιωνιαν
α
[επ]ωλησ[[ε]]ν [

I. 7. *οποιος*: *οἷος* F(lorentinus); cf. II. 28, *τοιαύτην ὁποίαν*.

8. *χ* of *ωχρος* seems to have been corrected from *κ*.

10. *δριμυ*: *γλυκύ* F.

11. *καλλιρο[ης*: the name is regularly spelled with one *ρ* in the papyrus; F. gives two.

13. *ετυχεν*: *ἐτύχανε* F.

16. *ησαν*: *δ' ἦσαν* F, but the asyndeton is in the manner of Chariton; cf. II. 37. There is no room for more letters (e.g. *οἵ*) in the lacuna at the beginning of the line.

21. *φ[υλασσο]ν[τες*: the reading here is doubtful. The slight traces after *κ[υ]νες* though not inconsistent with *φ*, hardly suggest that letter, and the following six letters must have been somewhat cramped if they were got into the space between this and the supposed *ν*, of which only a single vertical stroke remains. But the papyrus does not support Hercher's conjecture *οἱ φυλάσσοντες*.

25–6. F reads *πάντες. μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ ὁ οἰκονόμος*, which does not sufficiently fill the space in the papyrus. Probably something has dropped out in F. The traces at the end of 25 look rather like *τ*.

27. *μι]θιμδοτηι*: *τῷ δεσπότῃ* F.

II. 8. γα[ρ]: δέ F. The letters at the end of the line are very dubious. In place of ω, τι might be read, with [μωριαι τ]ην in the next line. There would then be a word of two or three letters (e.g. δή) between αναγκαια[ι and τι[μωριαι. But the vestiges are too uncertain to justify an alteration of the reading of F.

9. εξωθε: ἔξωθεν F.

10. προσεθεισα[ν: προσέθηκαν F.

11. Above the οβ of φοβου the letters πι appear to have been written (by a second hand?). Perhaps ε]πι as a variant on εις was intended.

12. συν[απαγο]μενος: ἀπαγόμενος F. The reading ο[υ]ν συν is not quite certain, but there is clearly something more than ουν, and it is preferable to adopt συν, than to suppose that the scribe wrote ουν twice by mistake. The loss of συν in F is easily accounted for by the ουν preceding.

14. βαστασας: βαστάζων F.

15. ο in καλλιροη seems to have been corrected.

16. ημειν: ἡμῖν F.

17. δη: δέ F.

19. συνιδυιαν: συνειδυῖαν F.

21. [και εκ]ε[ι]νηι: κἀκείνη F: considerations of space make it probable that και εκεινηι not και κεινηι was written.

25. ο δ εν: ὁ δὲ ἐν F.

26. There is not room in the lacuna for τινί which is read after παραδείσῳ by F. It may very well be spared.

29–30. We follow F in filling up the lacuna between επι and οικετην; but the papyrus may of course have had Hercher's reading [τηι επινοιαι ε]κεινηι τον].

30–1. εθεα[σατο τι γαρ] μοι: or ε[θεασατο τι] μοι. F has τί γάρ, φησίν, omitting μοι.

34. τολμ[ηματος: αἵματος F, which has rightly been suspected, though defended by D'Orville. Reiske conjectured λήμματος which Hercher adopts. The papyrus no doubt preserves the true reading.

35. It is clear that the papyrus, if it read επισταται, which there is no reason to doubt, must have omitted ἄνθρωπος which F has after κατάρατος.

36. συνπ[ραξασαν: συμπράξασαν F.

37. There is not room for οὖν which F reads after ἀκούσας. [ακουσας δ] is possible, but it is more likely that there was no connecting particle; cf. I. 16.

38–9. The papyrus certainly differs here in some way from F, but it is not quite certain what the variant is. The letter at the beginning of 39 is more like a δ than anything else, but might be λ or χ, or perhaps β. But βλεπων λεγε (so F) cannot possibly have been got into the space in this line before φησιν. We have therefore adopted ι]δω[ν, which best suits the traces. ὁρᾶν is sometimes used like βλέπειν with adjectives; and the commoner word may easily have been substituted. For the aorist cf. II. 14, βαστασας where F has βαστάζων. Another possibility is λε[γε μοι] φησιν, with βλεπων in 38; cf. II. 30–1, note. This would however make that line unusually long, though not much longer than 41.

39. φησιν: φησί F; cf. 48.

40. The α of αδικηματων was inadvertently omitted, but subsequently inserted. υμι (so F) also appears to have been written above των. Both additions are probably due to the original scribe.

41. πολυχαρχος is a slip for πολυχαρμος.

44. επι[φερε]τ[ο]: so apparently the papyrus; ἐφέρετο F.

46. και is not found in F after ἤδη. ην might be read instead of και, in which case λεγε, κ.τ.λ. must be supposed to be spoken by Mithridates, not the attendant; but this seems less likely.

48. *φη[σι]ν*: *φησί* F; cf. 39.

52–3. F reads *ἀτυχῆ τινὰ ἔδοξεν ὁμωνυμίαν ἔχειν ἐκείνῃ γυναῖκα*. Hercher makes the obvious insertion of *τήν*, of which D'Orville regrets the absence, before *γυναῖκα*. The reading of the papyrus appears to be sound, and that of F to be due to an explanatory gloss.

53. *ουκετ*: *οὐκέτι* F.

54. *[ηθ]ελεν εξελεγχειν*: *ἐξελέγχειν ἤθελε* F.

56. The superfluous *α* in *[η]διαστον* has been cancelled by a dot placed above it. The cancelled letters at the end of the line have been crossed through, and a horizontal stroke is also drawn above them. *ηκε* of course was caused by the homoioteleuton of *ονομα των* and *παρακαλουντων*; but why *ηκε ουν* and not *ηκετω* was written is obscure. *ηκετω* is required by the context as it stands in F.

III. 9–10. The reading of what remains of these two lines is extremely doubtful, the traces remaining being very slight and blurred. Apparently the scribe originally omitted *την* before *ου*, and it has been subsequently inserted by another hand, immediately below the line instead of as usual above it.

15. The fibres on which the remnants of this line are contained had become detached, and were not quite correctly placed when the facsimile was taken, so that the *τ* has the appearance of being the second letter in the line.

20. Here again one or two letters appear to have been inserted above the line just before the lacuna. The traces of the first (if there be more than one letter) are like *η*; probably the addition was some alteration of the termination of *καλλιροην*.

24. The reading is uncertain. The vestiges after the supposed *σ* would suit *α*.

40. Some round letter, as *σ* or *ο*, has apparently been written above δ of δ[*υο*.

41–54. There is a very noticeable difference in the size of the letters in these lines as compared with the preceding part of this column and the two columns preceding. Possibly another scribe began at this point, but the formation of the letters is much the same as before.

51. *δοξασαν*: *δόξας* F.

54. *επωλησεν* was originally written, but the *ε* has been crossed through and *α* inserted above. The correction is possibly by the original scribe.

II. Lyric Fragment.

Kôm Ushîm. 22·3 × 30 *cm.*

In this curious papyrus is preserved a new specimen of the obscurer forms of literary composition with which Egyptian papyri are for the first time making us acquainted. It is a lyrical poem of some length, descriptive in character, but including dialogue. Portions of three columns remain; but of the first of these only a few letters at the ends of lines are occasionally visible, and the second is very fragmentary, the surface of the papyrus being much damaged. The third column however contains a fair number of complete lines.

The metre used, which is the same throughout, is a logaoedic form of a simple character. The scheme is ⏓ – ⏑⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ ⏓. It may be most easily

described as an anapaestic dimeter with an iambus in the last foot. Spondees are admitted in the first and third feet, but not in the second. A similar form is found in Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 4, Bacchylides xvi. 31, and in Sappho, Frags. 40 and 42 (Bergk); it also occurs, Prof. Crusius tells us, in some papyrus fragments at Heidelberg. The metre seems to be carefully used, which is rather remarkable considering the other qualities of the piece.

One of the strangest features of the papyrus is the manner in which it is written. The second column (the remains of the first are too scanty to show any peculiarities, if they existed) has two blank spaces, one at the top of the column large enough to accommodate five lines similar in size to the others in this column; the other, rather larger, about half-way down. The following column has no such empty spaces, but it is written in two hands, the good-sized hand of Col. II alternating with another much smaller and more compact. It seems however that these two hands are really identical; both are of an uncultivated type, and there is nothing beyond size in the formation of the letters which distinguishes the one from the other. What then is the meaning of the variation? It is natural at first sight to suppose that it has some connexion with the blank spaces in Col. II. But why should the blanks have been filled up in one column and not in another, and how came it about that the blanks occurred at all? Column III has every appearance of being continuous; it is all part of one poem. Changes of subject are indeed made rather abruptly; but they do not correspond with the variations in the handwriting. The numbers of lines in the several compartments are also quite irregular, so there can be no strophic arrangement.

The matter of the poem is hardly less remarkable than the manner in which it has been written down. The subject is the adventures of a man whose name does not occur (unless perhaps in III. 7). What this person is supposed to be doing in Col. II is obscure. He addresses a second character; there are several allusions to a πύλη, and κρατούμενοι (?) are mentioned. In Col. III the hero proceeds to a place which is full of corpses being devoured by dogs. He then makes his way to the sea-coast and proceeds to sit down upon a rock and to fish with a rod and line. He did not however succeed in catching anything; and we then revert to the corpses, the gruesome picture of which is further elaborated. 'For a vast plain stretched round about, filled with corpses of dreadful fate, beheaded, crucified; and wretched bodies lay upon the earth with their throats lately cut, others impaled suspended the trophies of their cruel lot; while the Furies, chaplet-crowned, laughed over the miserable deaths of the corpses. And there was a fearful stench of gore' (III. 20–29). He 'dragged along a frightful body,' with what purpose we do

not know, and next holds a conversation with a woman—or her ghost—whom he accuses of deceit and treachery. Prof. Crusius, who has made some valuable suggestions for the reconstruction of the text, thinks that the scene is laid in the nether world, and regards the whole piece as a species of 'Inferno.'

The language and style of the composition, the literary qualities of which are poor enough, clearly show its late date. But it cannot be posterior to the second century, to the latter part of which we should attribute the papyrus. The two hands which appear in the third column have already been described. Both use irregular informal uncials; several mistakes in spelling occur, and occasionally more serious corruptions seem to have crept in. The scribe was evidently a person of small education. This consideration makes it improbable that the papyrus is a fragment of the composer's original MS., which might otherwise be a possible explanation of the abnormal manner in which the poem is written.

Col. II.

Blank space.

ῑ]ω̣ν
] . τ̣ [.] παν ἰδ̣ων
[. . . . .]τ̣[. . . . .]ο̣ . . . [.]ο̣υ τρεσας
[. .]λ̣ .·[. . . . .] . [. . . .]τ̣ . σ̣[.]ς̣ λελ̣α̣λ̣ηκοτα
[. .]αδιο̣[. . . .]υ̣[. . . .]τ̣[.]ι γελων χαρας
[. .]η̣δ̣[. .]ν . . . . . . [. εμ]ολεν πυλην
[.]π̣ευ[. . . . .]ν̣ . [.] . α̣ [κ]ικλε̣ι̣σ̣μενην
[. .]τ̣ . [. . . . .]ε̣ι̣[. .]λ̣π[. .] . [.]ν π̣αθω
[. . . . . . .]ι̣ς π̣ρ̣ο̣[σελ]ηλυθα σοι μ[α]κ̣αρ
. . υ̣[. . . .] . . . . . . αν εληλυθα
α̣ρ̣α̣σ̣[. . .]α̣π̣ι̣ν̣α̣ κ̣α̣ι̣ν̣ι̣σ̣ον ει θελεις
. . βωταχ̣υ̣θε̣ . μ̣ε τ̣ης πυλης

Blank space.

τουτο[υ τ]α̣δ επ̣ε̣υχομενου τοτε
κατ̣α̣ [την] δυναμιν τη του θη̣ου
α̣λ̣ . [. . . .]τιπ̣[. .] ευθυς απο ξενης
ω̣σ̣υ[. . . . . . .]ν̣ε̣ κρατ̣ο̣υμε̣νοι
εξω̣[. . . .]υ̣τ̣ . . σαν την πυλην
επιτ[. . . . .] δουλ̣α̣ τεταγμενος

Vestiges of seven more lines.

Col. III.

λωξην δ ατραπου τριβο[ν ερπυσας
τ̣ο̣π̣ον ηλθε τ̣ο̣ν ο̣υ̣[τ]ι̣ς̣ αφικετο
εφοβειτο φοβος γονυ δ̣ε̣ι̣ [κ]φοβο̣[ν]

2nd hand. κατα πασαν ετυγχανε̣ σ̣ω̣μ̣α̣τ̣[α
πολλοι δε κυνες πιρι τους νεκρους
θοινης χαριν ησαν αφειγμαινοι
α̣νετον ε̣πονει̣ς κραδι[.] φερων̣
επ̣λοε̣ιζε προπαντα δεος μεθεις
ως αυτον εχων ε̣ρ̣ωδδ̣ι̣ πορον
κ[α]ι δη χθονα δυστραπ[ελ]ο̣ν φθασας
α̣[σ]χημονας ηλθε παρ ηονας
ενθεν δαι παιτρα[ν] καθ[ι]σας οτε
καλαμον μεν εδησε{ν} νεκρα τριχι
δελεαρ δε λαβων κ̣αι ψωμισ[α]ς
αγγιστρον ανηγε βαθει βυθ[ω
την νηχομενην σ̣ε . . μ̣ν̣[. .] . [.] . α
ως δ ουδεν ολως τοτ ελαμμ̣α̣ν̣ε̣ν
⟦κατα τον βυθον⟧
κατα θυμον ανεσ . ο . [. . . . .]ε̣ν̣ω̣ς
1st hand. αχανες γαρ εκ̣ειτ[ο . . . .]ην π̣εριξ
δαπεδον γεμον α̣ι̣νομορων νεκρων
πελεκιζομενων σταυρουμενων
λυγρα σωματα δ . [. .]α̣θ υπ[ε]ρ̣θ̣ε̣ γης
τετραχηλοκοπημ̣[ε]να προσφα̣[τως
ετεροι παλιν εσκολοπισμενο[ι
εκρεμαντο τροπαια π̣ι̣κ̣ρας τυχ[ης
ποιναι δ εγελων μελ[ε]ον νεκρων
θανατου τροπον εστεφανω[μεναι

μιαρα δε λυθρου τις εκει πνο̣η̣
ο δε φρεικαλεον δεμας ελκυ̣[σας
ελεησε̣ ν̣ε̣ο̣τ[τ
λευκ̣ιρις αιγ̣ξ̣η[ν
παλι δ ειαχε̣ π̣ . . [

2nd hand. *ελεγεν δ̣ε̣ [. .] . [.]ε̣ι̣τ̣ι̣ν̣[*
τι με γυμ̣π̣ν̣ον ετ̣ι̣σ̣α̣ς [
τι με δ εξαπατωσα δ̣ι̣[
σπαταλωσα μ̣ε δεμ[
λεαν πενια̣ χο̣λ̣ο̣ν̣ [
αλλω τινι προσπε̣λ̣α̣σ̣α̣σ̣[α
τουτου ταδ ε̣πευχομε[νου τοτε
η̣λθ ενδοθεν̣ α . ν̣ι̣μον[
κ̣α̣τ̣α̣ γης σε βο̣α̣ δ̣ε . . .[
1st hand. *ις τον βυθον ορ̣θ̣[*
επακουε μ̣ε̣[
μη σου το φ[α]ος [
ατρεκως δε μ[
τ . [

II. 7. l. [κ]*εκλεισμένην*; *ι* is written for *ε* again in III 5 *πιρι*.

14. l. *θεοῦ*.

III. 1. *λωξην*: l. *λοξήν*.

5. *πιρι*: l. *περί*.

6. *αφειγμαινοι*: i. e. *ἀφιγμένοι*. There are two more instances of *αι* for *ε* in 12.

7. This line is difficult. Probably *κραδια* was written for *κραδίαν* (cf. 10, where a final *ν* is added above the line), to which *ανετον* refers. After *ανετον* ⟨*δ'*⟩ may have dropped out. The second word, which is possibly a proper name, is apparently corrupt. The initial letter may be *θ*, in which case *π* must be wrong; *η* is a just possible, but unlikely, alternative.

8. *επλοειζε* can hardly be right. The *π* is quite doubtful, and in place of the second *ε*, *σ* or possibly *γ* could be read; but the other letters are clear.

9. The word after *εχων* appears to be corrupt. The first letter might be *θ* or *σ*, the second *υ*.

12. l. *δὲ πέτραν*; cf. note on 6.

15. l. *ἄγκιστρον ἀνῆκε*.

16. At the end of the line [*τ*]*ρ*[*ι*]*χα* could be read, which, if correct, was perhaps preceded by a participle. *σείων* would suit the sense, but not the surviving vestiges of the letters, though *ω* may be read in place of *μ*. The doubtful *σ* may be *δ*, but *δ ενεμ*[*ε*] is also unsatisfactory.

17. *ελαμμανεν*: so apparently the papyrus for *ἐλάμβανεν*.

18. *κατα τον βυθον* is crossed through, having been written by mistake.

20. *εκειτ*[*ο*: or perhaps *ἐκεῖ τ*[; cf. 29.

22. The present tenses are loosely used. The language here recalls the passage of Tacitus describing the tortures of the Christians by Nero (*Ann.* xv. 44): 'et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum (cf. 5–6, above) interirent, multi crucibus adfixi aut flamma usti, aliique, ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.'

23. Crusius suggests δε [ει]αθ, which may be right, the only objection to it being that there is no other instance of the neglect of elision. δ ε[ι]αθ would not fill the lacuna.

32. l. λευκηρες. αιγδη[ν is uncertain, η especially being doubtful. The vestiges rather suggest ο.

34. Crusius restores the latter part of the line [λ]έ[γ'] εἴ τιν' [ἔχεις νόον, which makes very good sense. λ scarcely fills up the lacuna, but the scribe is rather irregular in his spacing. Perhaps [λε]γ[ε should be read, but cf. note on 23.

35. l. γυμνόν (?).

38. λεων is apparently for λίων.

40. This line is a repetition of II. 13.

III. Commentary on Aristotle, *Topics II. 2.*

Harit. 12 × 11·11 *cm.*

Parts of three columns of an early commentary on Aristotle's *Topics*. The passages referred to in the fragment are from Book II. ch. 2, p. 109 a 34–5 (Col. I), p. 109 b 4–9 (Col. II), and p. 109 b 9–15 (Col. III). These are cited at length, and are followed by the commentary or paraphrase. The quotations are distinguished from the explanatory matter by the indentation of the lines, those which contain a quotation being made to project by the space of a couple of letters into the left-hand margin (cf. Ox. Pap. II. 220).

The remains of the commentary are too scanty to allow of a precise appreciation of its scope and quality; it is unfortunate that the second column, which is the best preserved, is mainly occupied with a long citation from Aristotle. But the treatise appears to be of a simple though systematic character. The commentator did not choose for elucidation particular passages, but went solidly through the text; and that he was not inclined to prolixity may be concluded from the fact that fifteen lines of Aristotle are disposed of in two columns, and that in Col. III, if our restoration of lines 5–10 is correct, text and commentary occupy an equal number of lines. The work then is probably to be regarded as an unadorned paraphrase, not as a commentary upon selected passages. Its early date is established by the manuscript, which itself can hardly be later than the middle of the second century. The two documents with which this papyrus was found are of the time of Domitian or Trajan; and the handwriting of the literary fragment, which is a neat slightly sloping uncial of medium size, has every appearance of being contemporary with them. The manuscript may therefore be assigned with some security to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. The commentator accordingly must have written at least a hundred years before Alexander Aphrodisiensis; and was probably also considerably

anterior to Herminus and Sotion, who are known from Alexander's allusions to have commented upon the *Topics* (see Alex. *Topics*, pp. 434. 3, 569. 3, 574. 26, and cf. p. 154. 10 ὥς τισιν ἔδοξεν), and who, apart from the present fragment, are the earliest recorded interpreters of that book. The papyrus shows no punctuation or other lection signs, except the common angular mark used for filling up space at the end of a line. A second hand has made an addition in Col. II.

The citations from Aristotle offer a few slight variations of text, which are noticed below; but they are of small critical importance.

Col. I.

. . . .

]ην
]ων
]ονοι
]ει
]αι
[. . . . .]μα εις μ[εν
[δη τοπος το επ]ιβλεπειν ει το
[κατ αλλον τιν]α τροπον υπαρ[χ]ον
[ως συμβεβη]κος αποδεδωκεν
[. . . . .]εται ει τοδε τωι
[. . . συμβεβ]ηκεν σκεπτου μη
[. . . . .] . εστιν η γενος η ο
[νομα . . . . . .]εται γαρ τουτο
[. . . . .]αν κατ αλλον μεν

. . . . . .

Col. II.

. . . .

. . . κ[. .]εητ . [
. εσα[. . .]δ[.]ν γα[ρ
κειαμενων[κατη
γορημα την α[
κεχρωσθαι ουτ[ε γενος ου
τ[ε] ιδιον δυναται ειναι αλλα
συμβεβηκος απ ουδενος γαρ
γε[ν]ους παρωνυμ[ω]ς η κατηγο
[ρ]ι[α] κατα του ειδους λεγεται αλλα
ο[μ]
παντα τα γενη συνωνυμως
των ειδω[ν] κατηγορει[τ]αι και
γαρ το ο[ν]ομα και τον λο[γο]ν επι
δεχεται τον των γενων τα
ειδη ο ουν κεχρωσμενο[ν] ει >
πας το λευκον ουτε ως γενος
αποδεδωκεν επε[ι]δη π[α]ρω
[νυμως . . .

. . . .

Col. III.

. . . . .

[. .] ησο . [
[. .] και [
[. .] πρωτ[κατη

δ[.]νο[
μ[αλλος το
επιβλ[επειν οις υπαρχειν η

[γο]ρ̣ια φ[
[. .]τ̣ο̣ν̣[ο γαρ ορι
[μος και] τ̣ο̣ ι̣δ̣[ιον ουδενι αλλω υπαρ
[χει κεχρωσται δε πολλα και των
[αλλων] ο̣ι̣ο̣ν̣ [. . . . . ανθρωπος ιππος
[δηλον] ουν̣ [οτι ως συμβεβηκος
[αποδι]δω[σιν
[. . .]ηκ[
[. .] . . . [
το κλι̣[

πασι[ν] η̣ μ̣[ηδενι ειρηται σκοπειν
δε κατ ειδ[η και μη εν τοις απει
ροις οδω γ[αρ μαλλον και εν ελαττο
σιν η σκεψ̣[ις
ει η ηδο[νη ?
πασαις [
κ̣ει του [
θω . . [
φ̣ . [
. . . . . .

I. 10, 11. ? τῷ (ε)ἴ[δει.

II. 10. πάντα συνωνύμως τὰ γένη Bekker. The variant ομωνυμως has been inserted by a second hand. No trace is left of the μ, but the surface of the papyrus is rather damaged at this point.

12. ο[ν]ομα: the vestiges of the first letter suit ο better than υ. τοὔνομα Bekker.

13. τον των: so B C; om. τον Bekker.

III. 8. A difficulty arises concerning the length of this line, which with the ordinary reading, οἷον ξύλον λίθος (λίθος ξύλον C) ἄνθρωπος ἵππος, would have contained thirty-two letters, or five more than any other line, and about eight more than the average. It appears likely therefore that one of the four substantives was omitted; and the MSS. variation in the order of ξύλον and λίθος creates a slight probability in favour of one of these two having been the omitted word. The question is not affected by the uncertainty which exists as to the exact point at which this and the preceding lines began. For if the first syllable of αλλων in line 8 were transferred to 7, the first syllable of δηλον in 9 would have to be transferred to 8, and the same total number of letters would result.

IV. HOMER, *Iliad VIII.*

Ûmm el 'Atl. 5·5 × 8 *cm*. Plate VI.

A small fragment containing in two consecutive columns the ends of lines 332–6 and the beginnings of lines 362–8 of the eighth book of the *Iliad*. Some interesting variations occur in ll. 366, 369; cf. note *ad loc.* The papyrus was found with several others belonging to the Ptolemaic period, and for the most part falling within the second century B.C. It may itself be assigned with some security to the second half of that century, or at latest to the beginning of the century following. A remarkable palaeographical feature is the occurrence of the square-shaped ε at the beginning of ll. 365–6.

. . . . .
ερι]ηρες ετ[α]ιροι
αλ]αστωρ
σ]τεναχοντα
] μενος ωρσεν
αχαι]ους
. . . . .

. . . .
ουδε τι τ[ων
τειρομε[νον
η τοι ο μ[εν
τωι επα[λεξησουσαν
ευ γαρ εγω [
ευτε μιν ε[ις
εξ ε[ρ]εβε[υς
η . [
. . . .

366. ευ: so apparently the papyrus. The second letter cannot be read as ι; the first seems to be a square ε like that at the beginning of the following line, though the heavy top stroke gives the letter rather the appearance of γ or π. εἰ is the reading of all MSS. Mr. Allen suggests that the papyrus may here have had the line εὖ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε οἶδα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν (Δ 163, Z 447), and that 369 differs from the ordinary version (οὐκ ἂν ὑπεξέφυγε Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα) only by the addition of ἤ before οὐκ. The protasis would then begin at εὖτε, and the condition in the mind of Athene ('if I could have foreseen events') is left to be understood. But as a matter of fact the vestiges in the papyrus after η do not suit ο.

V. Homer, *Iliad I*.

Harit. 28·2 x 16·8 *cm*.

A single column, written upon the *verso* of the papyrus, containing ll. 404–447 of the first book of the *Iliad*. On the *recto* are some accounts, which appear to have been written in the latter half of the second century A.D. The Homer on the *verso* may fall within the second century, or belong to the earlier part of the third. The handwriting is a good-sized upright uncial, well-formed and somewhat ornate in appearance. The marks of elision and diaereses on ι and υ, which are frequently inserted, are due to the original scribe. The papyrus shows no variants of importance. The common interchange of ει and ῑ is not noticed in our collation.

[αιγαιων ο γ]αρ αυτε β[ιη] ου πατρος αμεινω[ν
[ος ρα παρα κ]ρονιωνι καθ(ι)ζετο κ[υδ]εϊ γα[ι]ων
[τον και υπ]εδ[δ]εισαν μακ[αρ]ες θε[ο]ι ουδε τ' εδησ[αν

[των νυν μι]ν μνησασα παρ[ε]ζεο κ[αι λ]αβε γουνω[ν
[αι κεν πως ε]θελησιν επι τρωεσσιν αρηξαι
[τους δε κατα] πρυμνας τε κ[αι] αμφ [α]λα ελσαι αχαιους
[κτεινομεν]ους ινα παντες επαυ[ρ]ωντα[ι] βασιλη[ος
[γνω δε και ατ]ρειδης ευρυ κρε[ι]ων αγαμεμνων
[ην ατην ο τ αρ]ιστον αχαιων ουδεν ετεισεν
[τον δ ημειβετ] επιτα θετις κατα δακρυ χεουσ[α
[ω μοι τεκν]ον εμον τι νυ σ ετρεφον αι[ν]α τεκ[ου]σα
[αιθ οφελε]ς [π]αρα νηυσιν αδακ[ρ]υ[[χεουσα]]το[ς] και απημων
[ησθαι επει] νυ τοι αισα μινυνθα περ ου τι μαλ[α] δην
[νυν δ αμα τ] ωκυμορος κα[ι] οιζυρ[ο]ς περι παντ[ων
[επλεο τω σε κα]κη αιση τε[κ]ον εν μεγαροισιν
[τουτο δε τ]οι ερεουσα επος δι[ι] τερπικεραυνωι
[ειμ αυτη π]ρος ολυμπον αγαννιφον αι κε πιθηται
[αλλα συ με]ν νυν νηϋσι παρημενος ωκυποροισ[ι
[μηνι αχ]αιοισιν πολεμ[ο]υ δ' αποπαυεο παμπαν
[ζευς γαρ ε]ς ωκεανον μετ' αμυμονας αιθιοπηα[ς
[χθιζος εβ]η μετα δαιτα θεοι δ αμα παντες εποντο
[δωδεκατ]η δε τοι αυτις ελευσεται ουλυμπον δε
[και τοτ επει]τα τοι ειμι διος ποτι χαλκοβατες δω
[και μιν γουν]ασομαι και μιν πεισεσθα[ι] οιωι
[ως αρα φωνη]σασ απεβησατο τον δε λιπ' αυτου
[χωομενον κ]ατα θυμον εϋζωνοιο γυναικος
[την ρα βιη αε]κοντος απηϋρων αυταρ οδυσσευ[ς
[ες χρυσην ικ]ανεν αγων θ' ιερην εκατομβην
[οι δ οτε δη] λιμενος πολυβενθεος εντος ϊκον[το
[ιστια με]ν στιλαντο θεσαν δ εν νηϊ μελαινη
[ιστον δ ισ]τοδοκη πελασαν προτονοισιν ϋφ[ε]ντ[ε]ς
[καρπαλι]μως την δ εις ορμον προερυσσαν [ε]ρετμο[ις
[εκ δ ευν]ας εβαλον κατα δε π[ρυ]μνησι εδησαν
[εκ δε και] αυτοι βαινον επι ρηγμ[ε]ινι θαλασσης
[εκ δ εκ]ατ[ο]μβην βησαν εκηβολω απολλω[νι
[εκ δε χ]ρυσηις νηος βη ποντοποροιο
[την με]ν [ε]π[ιτ ε]πι [βω]μον αγων πολυμητις οδυ[σσε]υς
[πατρι φι]λ]ω εν χε]ρ[σι] τιθει και μιν προσεειπεν

[ω χρυσ]η π[ρο μ] επεμψεν αναξ ανδ[ρ]ων αγαμ[εμν]ων
[παιδα τ]ε σο[ι] αγεμεν φοιβω θ' [ιερ]ην εκατομβην
[ρεξαι υπε]ρ [δ]αναων οφρ' ειλασσωμεσθα ανακ[τ]α
[ος νυν αργ]ειο[ισ]ι πολυστονα κηδε εφηκεν
[ως ειπ]ω[ν] εν χερσι τιθει ο δ' [ε]δεξατο χαιρων
[παιδα φ]ιλην ο[ι] δ' ωκα θεω κλειτην εκατομβην

406. υπ]εδ[δ]εισαν: so MSS.; ὑπέδεισαν La R(oche).

407. μι]ν μνησασα: the letter before μ might also be read as ι; but more probably it is ν, and the papyrus will then agree with the majority of the MSS. in reading μιν μνησασα and not μιμνησασα (G). μιν μνήσασα La R.

415. χεουσα, which the scribe first wrote after αδακρυ, was of course due to a reminiscence of 413. He then cancelled the superfluous word by drawing a line round it.

418. μεγαροισιν: μεγάροισι La R., with CH.

424. μετα: so the MSS; κατὰ La R. with Strabo i. 3, Schol. A. 484, Apoll. Lex. 96, 16; Aristarchus, Aristophanes, &c.

428. απεβησατο: so DGL and the first reading in H; ἀπεβήσετο La R.

431. αγων θ': ἄγων MSS., La R.

435. προερυσσαν: so ADHLS, προέρυσαν CE 130, 24 G. προέρεσσαν Aristarchus, La R.

444. ειλασσωμεσθα: the papyrus combines the two readings between which, with minor differences of spelling, the MSS. are divided, ἱλασόμεσθα (ACH) and ἱλασσώμεθ'. The result is a form which will not scan. The whole line was rejected by Aristonicus (Schol. Φ. 479).

446. ο δ' εδεξατο: so most MSS. ὁ δὲ δέξατο La R. with AC Townl. Eton.

447. ο[ι]: so Ambros., &c.; τοὶ La R. with most MSS. κλειτην: the vulgate reading; ἱερὴν Aristarchus, La R.

VI. HOMER, *Iliad XXI*.

Kaṣr el Banât. 15·5 × 11·4 *cm*. Plate IV.

The upper part of a column, no doubt the second of the roll, containing ll. 26–41 of Homer, *Iliad* xxi. The interest of the papyrus is mainly palaeographical. Both it and the following fragments of the *Odyssey* (vii) were found together with a number of early first century documents, of which six out of the seven that are dated belong to the reign of Augustus. The two literary papyri are no doubt of the same period, and we thus have a pair of practically contemporary specimens of the literary hand as practised in the opening decades of the first century. The handwriting of the present fragment is of a large bold type, and is considerably better formed and handsomer in appearance than that of the *Odyssey* fragments. The punctuation is a later addition; it is noticeable that all three kinds of stops occur (cf. viii). The text is the vulgate.

[πτωσσον υπο κρ]ημνους· ο δ επει καμε χειρας εναιρων
[ζωους εκ ποταμ]οιο δυωδεκα λεξατο κουρους
[ποινην πατροκ]λοιο μενοιτιαδαο θανοντος·
[τους εξηγε θυρα]ζε τεθηποτας ηυτε νεβρους
[δησε δ οπισσω] χειρας ευτμητοισιν ιμασιν.
[τους αυτοι φορεε]σκον επι στρεπτοισι χιτωσι.
[δωκε δ εταιροισι]ν καταγειν κοιλας επι νηας.
[αυταρ ο αψ επορου]σε δαιξεμεναι μενεαινων.
[ενθ υιει πριαμοιο] συνηντετο δαρδανιδαο
[εκ ποταμου φευγο]ντι λυκαονι· τον ρα ποτ αυτος
[ηγε λαβων εκ πα]τρος αλωης ουκ εθελοντα
[εννυχιος προμολ]ων ο δ ερεινεον οξει χαλκωι
[ταμνε νεους ορπη]κας ιν αρματος αντυ[γ]ες ειεν·
[τω δ αρ ανωιστον] κακον ηλυθε διο[ς] αχιλλευς
[και τοτε μεν μιν λη]μν[ον ε]υκτιμενην επερασσε
[νηυσιν αγων αταρ υιο]ς [ιησ]ονος ωνον εδ[ω]κε

. . . .

26. The last eight letters of the line have been written by a second hand over an erasure.
30. ιμασιν: so D; ἱμᾶσι La R(oche).
37. ερεινεον: ἐρινεὸν La R.

VII. Homer, *Odyssey VI.*

Kaṣr el Banât. 11·8 × 16·6 *cm*. Plate IV (fragment g).

Of the following seven fragments of the sixth book of the *Odyssey*, only one (g), comprising ll. 286–300, is of any size; the rest are small pieces from at least three different columns of the roll, containing parts of twenty lines between 201 and 328. As has been stated in the introduction to vi, these fragments of the *Odyssey* are contemporary with the preceding papyrus, both MSS. belonging to the early part of the first century A.D. Some corrections in the text have been inserted by a second hand, which seems to be also responsible for the punctuation. A variant not otherwise recorded occurs in l. 296.

(*a*) 201] διερος β[ροτος
αν]δρων ες γ[αιαν
μ]αλα γαρ φ[ι]λοι
. . . .
. . . . .

(*b*) 205 επι]μισγεται α[λλος
ε]νθαδ ικανε[ι
διο]ς εισιν απαν[τες
τ]ε φιλη τ[ε
π]οσι[ν τε
. . . .

. . . .

(*c*) 255] οφρ[α] σε πε[μψω
δαιφ]ρονος ενθα σ[ε
. . . . .

(*d*) . . . . . .
απι]νυσσ[ειν
ανθρω]πων
260] αμαξ[αν
ηγεμ]ονευ[σω
] πυργ[ος
πολη]ος
. . . . . .

(*e*) . . . .
325] ακουσ[ον] επε[ι
] ερραιε κλυ[τος
φιλο]ν ελθε[ιν
τ]ου δε [κλυε
. . . . .

(*f*) . . . .
οδυσ]σειας
. . . . .

(*g*) [κ]αι δ αλλη [νεμεσω η τι]ς τοιαυτα γε ρεζοι
[η] τ αεκητι φιλω[ν] πατρος και μητρος εοντων
[α]νδρασι μισγηται πριν γ αμφαδινον γαμον ελθειν
[ξει]νε συ δ ωκ εμεθεν ξυνϊει επος οφρα ταχισ[τα
290 πομπης και νοστοιο τυχηις παρα πατρος εμειο
δηιομεν αγλαον αλσο[ς] αθη[[ναί]]ης αγχι κελευθ[ου
αιγ̈ιρων [εν δε κρ]ηνη^ν ναει· αμφι δε λειμων·
[ε]νθα δε π[ατρος] εμου τεμενος τεθαλυια τ αλωη
τοσσον α[πο πτ]ολιος οσσον τε γεγωνε βοησας
295 [ε]νθα κα[θεζομ]ενος μειναι χρονον εις ο κεν ημ[εις
[ασ]τυ διε[λθωμεν] και ικωμεθα δωματα πατρος
[αυτ]αρ επ[ην ημεας] ελπη ποτι δωματ αφιχθαι
[και τοτε φαιηκω]ν ιμεν ες πολιν ηδε ερεσθαι
[δωματα πατρος ε]μου μεγ[α]λητορος αλκινοοιο·
300 [ρεια δ αριγνωτ εστι] και αν [π]αις ηγησαιτο

Fr. (*g*) l. 288. αμφαδινον is a slip for ἀμφάδιον.

290. εμειο: so Zenod.; ἐμοῖο Aristarch., Lud(wich).

291. δηιομεν: αἱ χαριέστεραι 'δήεις' Did., and so Lud. δήιομεν or δήομεν (with minor variations of spelling and accentuation) is found in FGHTUYΩ. αθηναιης has been corrected to αθηνης; cf. G, which has ἄλσος ἄγχι κελεύθου ἀθηναίης.

292. The addition of ν after the second η of κρηνη is of course mistaken.

296. διελθωμεν is a variant peculiar to the papyrus; ἄστυ δὲ or ἄστυδε is the ordinary reading.

298. ηδε ερεσθαι: so G; ἠδ' ἐρέεσθαι Lud.

300. Since this line ends a column, and l. 201 began a column (cf. Fr. *a*), we may conclude that each column contained from 33 to 34 lines. The size of the hand makes this a much more likely number than 50.

Fr. (*e*). 328. The occurrence of this line is of interest, as the passage 328–331 has been condemned by various editors; it is printed in small type by Lud.

Fr. (*f*). This fragment contains part of the title, which was written at the end of the book.

VIII. Demosthenes, Third Philippic, pp. 121, 122.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 9 × 7·6 *cm.*

A fragment of the *Third Philippic* of Demosthenes, written in a rather small semi-cursive hand, apparently about the end of the second century. The scribe was rather careless, but usually corrects his own blunders. Some additions and corrections have also been made by a second hand. Three kinds of stops are used, as in the Demosthenes papyrus published in Ox. Pap. II. 231; and instances occur of the mark of elision and rough breathing. Some at least of these are later additions. The papyrus agrees with S L in the omission of certain words, but does not support the excisions of Blass which are not based upon the MSS. We give a collation with the Dindorf-Blass edition (1892).

Col. I.

. . . . . .

πριασθα]ι παρα τ[ων
[λ]εγοντων ουδε των στρα
[τ]ηγουντων ουδε την προς
αλληλους ομονοιαν ουδε
[τ]ην προς τους τυραννους
[κ]αι τους βαρβαρους απιστιαν·
[ο]υδ ολως τοιουτον ουδεν·
[ν]υν δ απα[[·]]νθ ωσπερ εξ αγο
τα
[ρ]ας εκπεπρα[[κ]]ται ται[[θ]] αν

Col. II.

. . . . . .

αυτων [ανεγραψαν και των συμ
μαχων [αυτον και γενος

[ε]πεισηκται δ αντι τουτω̄ . . . .
[υ]φ ων απολωλει[[αι]] και νε
[ν]οσηκεν η ελλας. ταυτα
[δ]ε εστιν τι· ζηλος ει τις
[ει]ληφεν τι [[.]] γελως αν ο
ι συγγνωμη τοις ελεγχομε
[μο]λογη μεισος αν τουτοις νοις ε[ν
[τις] επι[τιμ]α ταλλα πανθ ὁ τουτοι[ς
[σ εκ τ]ου [δ]ωροδοκειν ηρτη[ται
[επει τ]ρι[ηρεις γε] και σω[μα
[των πλ]ηθ[ος και χ]ρηματ[ων
[και της] αλ[λης κατασκευης

I. 8. An illegible letter has been crossed out, presumably by the first hand, after the second α of απανθ; cf. the next note.

9. εκπεπραται: κ, which was wrongly written before τ, has a dot placed over it, and has also been crossed through. The same double process of deletion has also occurred in 11 and 14. In these cases the superimposed dots are probably due to the original scribe, and perhaps also the additional cross-strokes. The substitution of ταυτα for ταυθ, which was first written, may also be by the first hand. ταῦτα B(lass).

αν[ε]πεισηκται: ἀντεισῆκται MSS., B.

10. ἀντὶ τούτων is bracketed by B.

11. For the correction of απολωλεναι to απολωλεν, cf. note on 9. The mistake was no doubt caused by the following και. ἀπόλωλε B.

12–13. ταυτα [δ]ε εστιν τι: ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί; B.

15. The iota adscript of ο[μο]λογηι (apparently) and συνγνωμη τοις ελεγχομενοις ε[ν] τουτοι[ς have been added by a second hand, whose rather sprawling letters extend into the margin. B prints συγγνώμη τοῖς ἐλεγχομένοις, which is omitted by S and the first hand of L, in small type. The addition of ἐν τούτοις is peculiar to the papyrus.

16. επι[τιμ]αι: the iota adscript, like that in the preceding line, seems to be a subsequent addition. ο[σ εκ: ο[σα εκ may have been written.

20. The papyrus agrees with the first hands of S and L in omitting πρόσοδοι or πρόσοδος after χρημάτων: so B.

II. 1. καὶ τῶν συμμάχων is bracketed by B.

IX. Euclid I.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 18·6 × 5·5 *cm.* (Fr. *a*).

The following fragments of Euclid (Book I, Props. 39 and 41), though unluckily much mutilated, are of considerable interest, since they show marked variations from the common text. The extent of these is however obscured by the uncertainty as to the length of the lines. No complete line is pre-

served, and we do not therefore know what the normal length was. But either the length of the lines was extraordinarily irregular, or the differences between the papyrus and the mediaeval MSS. of Euclid (which are unusually good) were quite remarkable. For instance, at the ends of ll. 1–10 of the papyrus the letters before the lacunae are nearly directly over one another. It would therefore be expected that the number of letters between them should be approximately equal. But, according to Heiberg's text (Teubner, 1883), which we have used for the collation given below, the numbers are these:—ll. 1–2 between ι and λ 32 letters, ll. 2–3 between λ and η 39 letters, ll. 3–4 between η and δ 76 letters, ll. 4–5 between δ and η 26 letters, ll. 5–6 between η and λ 28 letters, ll. 6–7 between λ and γ 38 letters, ll. 8–9 between β and η 39 letters, ll. 9–10 between η and ι 23 letters. It is true that by a judicious use of the recorded variants some of these inequalities might be reduced; but they cannot be got rid of in that manner; and seeing that in several cases the reading of the papyrus is certainly peculiar (cf. the collation), we have not attempted a conjectural restoration of the text. The general tendency of the fragment is towards compression; and some agreements with the MS. called p are noticeable. The irregularities of the text followed by the papyrus extended to the order of the propositions. Prop. 39 is immediately succeeded by Prop. 41. Prop. 40 was either omitted or else placed in some other position. It is noticeable that the diagram of Prop. 39 is drawn at the end of the demonstration, instead of, as is usual, at the beginning.

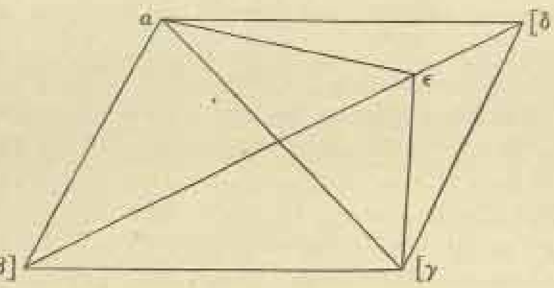
An easy explanation of the eccentricities of this fragment would be obtained if it could be supposed that it did not form part of a regular book, but was merely an imperfectly remembered exercise. But this is not a satisfactory view. The words are correctly spelled, and the handwriting, though not of the regular literary type, is by no means ill formed. Its date is apparently the latter half of the second century. The papyrus was found with a number of documents belonging to the reigns of Antoninus, Marcus, and Commodus. A small detached fragment (*b*), which has every appearance of having come from this column, we have not succeeded in placing. On the *verso* are the ends of a few lines in a cursive hand of the latter part of the second or beginning of the third century.

This is the second fragment of Euclid on papyrus that has come from Egypt. The first was published in Ox. Pap. I (no. 29).

Fr. (*a*)

ο]ντα επι̣ [τα αυτα μερη
] παραλληλ[οις

επ]ι της αυτη[ς βασεως
επεζευ]χθω η αδ [
ε]στιν τη [βγ
τη β]γ παραλ[ληλος
] το αβγ [
της α]υτης β[ασεως
παρ]αλλη[λοις
ε]στιν ι[σ]ον το β[δγ
μει]ζον τω ελ[ασ]σον[ι
η α]ε τη βγ εστιν παρ[αλληλος
δειξο]μεν οτι [ο]υδε αλλη [
η] αδ αρα τη βγ εστιν πα[ραλληλος



εαν παρα]λληλογραμμ[ον] τρι[γωνω
αυτη]ν και εν τ[αις] αυταις [
] εσται τ[ο πα]ραλληλ[ογραμμον
π]αρα[λληλογρ]αμμ[ον
βασιν] τε [
] . [
διπλα]σιο[ν
επεζευ]χθω [
] τω [εβγ] τρ[ιγωνω
] της βγ κ[αι
ται]ς βγ [α]ε α[λλα
] παραλληλογρα[μμον
] και του εβ[γ

. . . .

. . . .

(*b*)]. ṿτων [

] ṭạụταις α[

πα]ραλληλ[ο]ṣ [

. . . .

1. ο]ντα επι: ὄντα καὶ ἐπὶ H(eiberg) with most MSS. The whole phrase καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη is omitted in BbVm. 1 p.

3. It is evident that the papyrus, whether or not it agreed with Theon (BFVbp) in omitting καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη after βάσεως (ὄντα), cannot have read λέγω ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς παραλλήλοις ἐστίν, which in all MSS. precedes ἐπεζεύχθω. On no theory of the length of the lines can 50 (or including ὄντα—μέρη, 70) letters be supposed to have been lost in the lacuna between αυτη[and]χθω in the following line. λέγω κτλ. is quite unessential.

4. επεζευ]χθω η: ἐπεζεύχθω γὰρ ἡ MSS., H.

5. ε]στιν τη: the order of the words is different from that found in other MSS., which read after ΑΔ λέγω ὅτι παράλληλός ἐστιν ἡ ΑΔ τῇ ΒΓ.

6. The papyrus agrees with p in omitting εὐθείᾳ after τῇ ΒΓ; σημείου was also no doubt left out after τοῦ Α (so p).

9. It is probable that the papyrus read ταις βγ αε after παρ]αλλη[λοις with pVm. 2 b m. 2; om. H.

10. τι β[δγ: καὶ τὸ ΔΒΓ MSS., H.

12. The papyrus again varies the common order of the words (cf. 5 note), which is οὐκ ἄρα παράλληλός ἐστιν ἡ ΑΕ τῇ ΒΓ.

13. [ο]υδε: so FVbp; οὐδ' H.

14. εστιν: so P; ἐστι H.

The recapitulation of the theorem τὰ ἄρα ἴσα τρίγωνα κτλ. is omitted. Perhaps the first words of it may have followed παραλληλος, or the proposition may have been simply concluded by ὅπερ ἔδει δεῖξαι.

17. The traces suit εσται (BFbp) much better than εστιν (P; ἐστι Proclus).

20–27. These lines are contained upon a detached fragment the precise position of which in relation to the upper part of the column is uncertain; but approximately it is to be placed as printed.

25. The reading of the vestiges at the beginning of this line is very doubtful; but ϵα at the end are clear.

25–27. The papyrus evidently differed considerably here from the ordinary text which (with minor variations) runs: ἀλλὰ τὸ ΑΒΓΔ παραλληλόγραμμον διπλάσιόν ἐστι τοῦ ΑΒΓ τριγώνου· ἡ γὰρ ΑΓ διάμετρος αὐτὸ δίχα τέμνει· ὥστε τὸ ΑΒΓΔ παραλληλόγραμμον καὶ τοῦ ΕΒΓ τριγώνου ἐστὶ διπλάσιον (H). τοῦ ΑΒΓ τριγώνου must have been placed before τὸ ΑΒΓΔ παραλληλόγραμμον, and the second τὸ ΑΒΓΔ παραλληλόγραμμον either omitted or similarly placed after καὶ τοῦ ΕΒΓ τριγώνου. The sentence ἡ γὰρ ΑΓ διάμετρος κτλ. was apparently shortened, perhaps by the omission of the word διάμετρος.

X. Latin Fragment.

Harit. 6·4 × 5·5 *cm.* Plate VI.

This small fragment has little intrinsic value, but it possesses a palaeographical interest which renders its publication desirable. The handwriting is

of an unusual type—a well-formed and regular semicursive, very clear and neat. On the *verso* of the papyrus is some Greek cursive of about the middle of the third century, which provides a *terminus ad quem* for the Latin writing on the *recto*. The latter probably falls within the first half of that century; it might however be as early as the end of the second.

Whether the papyrus should be classed as literary or no is uncertain. The excellence of the hand is rather suggestive of a literary composition, which is more likely than not to have been of a legal nature. But the fragment may equally well have come from some official document. Hardly enough remains to justify a decided opinion.

. . . . . .

minnotiti [
testamenta [
professi quae [
duci si ad dilige[*n*
obseruant [? *consue-*
tudinem es[*se* *com-*
militones [
existimant[
rata esse .[
milites .[
enia[

. . . . . .

1. There are some traces of ink before the *m*, but these may be due to a long downstroke from the line above. If they represent a letter in this line, the line projected further into the left margin than those below it.

11. The doubtful *i* may be *l*. The letter following must apparently be *a*, not *m*.

II. DOCUMENTS OF THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD.

XI. Petition of Demetrius.

Harît. 26 × 12 *cm*. About B.C. 115.

Petition addressed to Cleopatra III and Ptolemy Soter II by Demetrius, an infantry soldier domiciled at Euhemeria, concerning the repayment of certain loans of wheat lent by him to Theotimus, son of Phileas (cf. xii. 3). This papyrus was found together with xii and cccxxiv–v in a house near the temple of Harit; cf. p. 52. There is no date, but the petition was probably

written very soon after the death of Euergetes II, since the contracts mentioned were made in his reign.

Βασιλίσσηι[ι Κλεοπάτραι καὶ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι θεοῖς
Φιλομήτορ[σι Σωτῆ]ρ̣σ̣[ι χαίρειν
Δημήτρ[ιος . . . .
κάτοικος [τῶν πε]ζῶν τῶν κ[ατο]ικούντων [ἐν Εὐ-
ημερίᾳ̣ τ[ῆς Θεμίσ]του μερίδος. [ἐν] τῷ Χοίαχ
μηνὶ τοῦ ν̣[α (ἔτους)] ἐδάνεισα [Θεοτ]ε̣ίμῳ̣ Φιλέου
Πέρσῃ τῆς ἐ[πιγο]νῆς τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν
Θεαδελφεί[ᾳ̣ τ]ῆς αὐτῆς μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου
πυρῶν ἀρ(τάβας) [ζ (ἥμισυ)], καὶ ἐν τῶι Μεχεὶρ μηνὶ τοῦ αὐ-
τοῦ ἔτους ἄ[λ]λας ἀρ(τάβας) με, [ὁ]μοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ
Φαῶφι [μηνὶ] τοῦ να (ἔτους) ἄλλας ἀρ(τάβας) κε, τὰς δὲ
πάσας (πυρῶν) [ἀρ(τάβας)] οζ (ἥμισυ), κατὰ συγγραφὰς τρῖς, διὰ
μὲν μιᾶς ζ (ἥμισυ), δι' ἑτέρας με, δι' ὧν ἐδη-
λώθηι ἄλ[λ]α τε καὶ ποήσασθαί μοι αὐτὸν
τὴν τῶν προκειμένων ἀρ(ταβῶν) οζ (ἡμίσους) ἐν τοῖς διὰ τῶν
συμβολαίω[ν] ὁρισθεῖσιν χρόνοις ἢ ἐκτεῖσαί
μοι ἑκάστ[ης] ἀρ(τάβης) χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμὰς) ͵Γ. τούτων δ' ὄντων
καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀποδόσεως χρόνων διεληλυ-
θότων καὶ ἄλλων ἐπιγεγονότων πλεόνων
ὁ ἐνκαλούμενος πλεονάκις ἀπῃτημένος
[ο]ὐχ ὑπομένει ἑκουσίως ἀποδιδόναι, κατα-
νωτιζόμενος τ̣[ὸ] . . [. .]ω̣ς ἔχον καὶ τὰς συναλ-
λάξεις [. . . . .] . ν̣ ἐφ̣' ὑ̣[μᾶ]ς καταφυγὴν πεπο-
ημέν[ο]ς δ[έ]ομαι ἀπο[σ]τεῖλαί μου τὴν ἔντευ-
ξιν ἐπὶ τ[ο]ὺς ἐπὶ τῶν [τ]όπων χρηματισ-
τάς, ὧν [εἰσα]γωγεὺς Δω[σ]ίθεος, ὅπως δια-
λέξαντες αὐτὴν εἰς κα[τά]στασιν καὶ ἀνα-
καλεσάμενοι τὸν Θέω̣να διὰ Δημη-
τρίου λο[γ]ευτοῦ κρίν[ω]σιν πραχθῆναί μοι
αὐτὸν τ[ὴ]ν ὡρισμέν[η]ν τειμὴν τῆς
ἀρ(τάβης) υ̣γ( ) ͵Γ (δραχμάς), τὰ συναγόμενα χαλ-

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἤγαγον μεθ' ὕβρεως καὶ πληγῶν καὶ συνκλείσ[αν-
τ[έ]ς με εἰς τὴν Ἀμεννέως τινὸς οἰκίαν ἐξέδυσαν ὃ περ[ιε-
βεβλήμην ἱμάτιον καὶ τοῦτο ἀπηλλάγησαν ἔχοντ[ες ἐ-
ξέντες γυμνόν. εἶθ' οὕτως μετ' ἐνδύματος μ . . . .
ζ . . θεντος ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων οὕτως ἐξελθὼν
καὶ καταβαλὼν διὰ Πτολεμαίου τραπαιζίτ[ου] Μέλιτι
τῆι καπηλίδι ἧ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἐδεκώκησαν ἐνέχυρον
πρὸς ἀσωτείαν χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμὰς) Βψ, ἐξεκομισάμην α[ὐτ]ό. περὶ
τῶν ἀδίκως εἴς με συ[ντετ]ελεσμ(έν)ων προ[η]ρημένος
ἐπεξελθεῖν δέομαι ἀποστεῖλαί μου τὴν ἔντευξιν
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποτεταγμένους τῆι κατοικίᾳ χρηματιστὰς
ὧν εἰσαγωγεὺς Διοσκουρίδης, ὅπως χρηματίσαντες
αὐτὴν καὶ προσκαλεσάμενοι τόν τε Διοκλῆν καὶ Ἀμμώνι[ο]ν
δια Τ[. . . . . . . λογ]ευτοῦ συνκρίνωσι πραθχῆναί μοι
ἐκα . [. .]ρ[. . . . . . σ]υνεχομένους τῆς ἀδίκου ἀγωγῆς
ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς) ρ καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως χα(λκοῦ) υκ καὶ τὰς τοῦ χα(λκοῦ) Βψ,
περὶ αὐτῶ[ν γ]ενομένης [ἀ]νάγκης ἁρμοζούσης
διὰ δημοσίων. τούτων δὲ γενομένων ἔσομαι ἀντειλημ-
μένος.

εὐτύχειτε.

9. 2nd ε of αιδεσθεις corr. from ι. 15. σ of πλειστα corr. from ο. 18. ε of αμεν corr. from μ. 22. l. τραπεζίτου, an early instance of the interchange of αι and ε. 23. l. ἐδεδώκεσαν. 30. l. πραχθῆναι.

'To Queen Cleopatra, goddess Euergetis, and King Ptolemy surnamed Alexander, god Philometor, greeting from Theotimus, son of Phileas, a Mysian of the fourth hipparchy, owner of 100 arourae, living at Theadelphia in the division of Themistes of the Arsinoite nome. In the month of Epeiph of the 13th which is also the 10th year Diocles, son of Alexander, a Persian of the Epigone, being of the less reputable class at the same village, having in combination with other individuals done me various injuries, I made the customary charges against him on these counts. He however, so far from being abashed, took as a confederate Ammonius, son of Ammonius, a Persian of the Epigone and inhabitant of the same village, and on the . . . of Mecheir in the present year they entered the house which belongs to me in the village and summoned me, others besides themselves being present, and abused me in the most unmeasured terms; and as the result of the colloquy which took place between us . . ., nay more, they dragged me away with insults and blows, and shut me up in the house of a certain Amenneus, where they stripped me of the garment I was wearing, and went off with it, sending me forth naked. Afterwards, a garment having been (supplied) by my friends, I went out,

and by paying through Ptolemaeus the banker to Meli, the dealer to whom they had incontinently pawned the garment, 2700 drachmae of copper, I recovered it. As I have decided to proceed against them for all the injuries they have inflicted upon me, I entreat you to send my petition to the assize-judges appointed for the settlement, whose clerk is Dioscurides, in order that they may take cognizance of it, and having summoned both Diocles and Ammonius through T. . . . the collector to appear, give judgement that they shall perforce pay me for the illegal abduction 100 (?) drachmae of silver, and for insulting me 420 (?) drachmae of copper, besides the 2700 drachmae of copper, suitable pressure being applied on this account by public officials. If this is done, I shall have obtained redress. Farewell.'

3. Cf. note on xi. 6. 100 arourae was the usual grant to cavalry soldiers in the Fayûm.

12. *ἐνεστῶτος* (*ἔτους*): probably the 14th=11th year, i.e. B.C. 104–3; cf. line 5.

14. *τούτοις*: the sentence from 9–20 is very loosely constructed, the subject changing more than once. *τούτοις*, unless persons in the mind of the writer, but not mentioned, are meant, must refer to Diocles and Ammonius, and *καὶ ἑτέρους συμπαρόντας*, though apparently governed by *ἐκκαλεσάμενοι*, is probably an accusative absolute.

15. *κακολογηθείς*: the subject is now Theotimus himself. The next clause is ambiguous and may perhaps mean 'as the result of their previous agreement between themselves.'

31. *ἑκα.*[: *ἑκατέρους* would be expected, but the letter following *α* is not *τ* and is more like *σ*. *ἑκασ*[*τον* causes difficulty owing to the tail of the supposed *ρ* which follows shortly after. *ἀδίκου ἀγωγῆς*: this refers to line 17, not to the *ἀδικήματα* mentioned in 7.

XIII. Letter of a Tax-Farmer.

Harît. 10·5 × 8·5 *cm*. B.C. 170 (?).

Letter from a farmer of the beer-tax at Theadelphia to a company of fish-salters (or mummifiers), directing them to 'support' (*προστῆναι*) a certain Petesis, who had paid his tax for making beer. The precise meaning of this 'support' and the connexion between Petesis' payment of the beer-tax and his relations to the *ταριχευταί* is obscure.

The papyrus is written on the *verso* (the *recto* being blank) in a medium-sized cursive hand of the second century B.C. The 12th year mentioned is probably that of Philometor.

[.]ελθοῦς ἐξειληφὼς τὴν ζυ(τηρὰν)
[Θ]εαδελφέας εἰς τὸ ιβ (ἔτος)
Ψάιτι καὶ τοῖς μετόχοις
ταριχευταῖς χαίρειν.
καλῶς ποιήσετε προσ-
τάντες Πετήσιος
τῶν ἐξ Ἀρχελαΐδος.
ἀπέχω τὸ γινόμενον
αὐτοῦ τέλος, οὐθὲν
αὐτῶι ἐγκαλῶι.
ἔρρωσθε.
(ἔτους) ιβ, Χοίαχ δ.

'. elthous, farmer of the beer-tax at Theadelphia for the 12th year, to Psais and partners, fish-salters, greeting. Please support Petesis, an inhabitant of Archelais. I have received the tax due from him and have no claim against him. Farewell. The 12th year, Choiak 4.'

3. Ψάιτι: or Φάιτι.

4. ταριχευταῖς: cf. xv. 4, and Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 397, where the tax called ἡ τετάρτη τοῦ ταρίχου is discussed. The words τάριχος and ταριχευτής are ambiguous, and can refer either to the preparation of mummies, or to the salting of fish &c. The conjunction of ταριχηρῶν with σιτοποιῶν in xv. 4 supports Wilcken's view that in the cases where a tax is concerned it is the salting of meat and fish that is meant; but here either meaning is equally possible.

XIV. Notice from Tax-Collectors.

Harit. 16 x 17.5 *cm.* B.C. 124.

Notice addressed to Phileas, son of Tryphon, by two tax-collectors, one a Jew called Simon, requesting the extra payment of four silver drachmae for 'a crown' on behalf of Numenius. At the bottom is the receipt, signed by one of the collectors.

The papyrus is dated in the 46th year, which must refer to the reign of Euergetes II. Above the notice are three much obliterated lines in a different hand, referring to a payment of 1400 drachmae and mentioning the 32nd year.

Σίμων καὶ Πτολεμαῖος οἱ προκεχιρισ-
μένοι πράκτορες τοῦ ἀναπεφωνη-
μένου Νουμηνίῳ στεφάνου Φιλέᾳ
Τρύφωνος χαίρειν. προσδιαγράψις
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τέσσαρας, / δ.
(ἔτους) μϛ, Τῦβι λ.
2nd hand Πτολεμαῖος Πασοκράτου συναπέχω.

'Simon and Ptolemaeus, the appointed collectors of the crown-tax decreed for Numenius, to Phileas, son of Tryphon, greeting. You are required to pay in addition four drachmae, total 4. The 46th year, Tubi 30. I, Ptolemaeus, son of Pasocrates, jointly acknowledge the receipt.'

2. On the position of the πράκτωρ in Ptolemaic times see Rev. Pap. p. 78 and Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 564. They were specially concerned with the exaction of fines or payments in arrear. In the present case there is a question of an extra payment (προσδιαγράψεις). The πράκτορες στεφανικοῦ of the Roman period were ordinary collectors of taxes.

3. στεφάνου: on this tax see Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 295 sqq. It was generally a present made to the king on his accession or some other important occasion, like the *aurum*

coronarium of Roman times (cf. introd. to xx). Here, however, the 'crown' was for the benefit of a private individual, presumably a court favourite. Possibly this Numenius is identical with the ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ and strategus of the Thebaid mentioned in Gr. Pap. I. xxxviii. 1.

XV. Tax-Receipt.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 7·3 × 10 *cm.* B.C. 112 (?).

Receipt for 500 copper drachmae paid as a monthly 'contribution' (σύνταξις) from the millers and fish-salters of Bacchias and Hephaestias. The purpose of this 'contribution' is not stated. On palaeographical grounds the papyrus can be assigned to the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C. The 5th (or 9th) year mentioned in it therefore probably refers to the joint reign of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy Soter II.

Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ζώιλ[ος] Πα̣ε[ῦτι χα(ίρειν).
ἔχομεν παρὰ σοῦ τὴν σύνταξ[ιν
τὴν τῶν σειτοποιῶν καὶ [. . .
ταριχηρῶν Βακχιάδος κ[αὶ 'Ηφ]αι-
στιάδος τοῦ Παῦνι χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμὰς) φ[
(ἔτους) ε̣, [Πα]ῦν[ι . .

2. σύντα[ξιν: this word generally refers to contributions for religious purposes, but is sometimes used for certain kinds of payments to the government, e.g. the στέφανος tax (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 296), almost as the equivalent of φόρος. There is nothing to show the status of Ptolemaeus and Zoilus here.

4. ταριχηρῶν: it is not easy to fill up the lacuna so as to make a satisfactory parallel to σιτοποιῶν. ταριχηρῶν, if an adjective, ought to mean 'salted,' and to apply to objects such as fish or meat; but to balance σιτοποιῶν we require a class of persons, i.e. ταριχευτῶν. If ταριχηρῶν were taken to be a substantive meaning the 'taxes on τάριχος' (cf. note on xiii. 4), the whole meaning of the receipt would be altered. But to this view the conjunction of ταριχηρῶν with σιτοποιῶν presents insuperable difficulties. Even if σιτοποι(ι)ῶν be read, the plurals would remain inexplicable. We prefer therefore to suppose that either τῶν or a substantive meaning a class of persons is lost in line 3, in spite of the unusual meaning which on this hypothesis it is necessary to give to ταριχηρῶν.

Βακχιάδος κ[αὶ 'Ηφ]αιστιάδος: from this passage and many others in which Bacchias and Hephaestias are mentioned independently both in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, we should infer that they were quite distinct villages. This however is not quite certain, for twice in the present volume (clxii and ccvii), and most probably in Brit. Mus. Pap. 315. 2–3 (cf. *Class. Rev.* xii. p. 434), the two names are coupled together as if they were one, 'Bacchias Hephaestias.' Owing to the occurrence of Hephaestias by itself as a village name, e.g. in xli, it does not seem possible to suppose that the double title was given to distinguish our Bacchias from another Bacchias in the division of Heraclides,

Bacchias Λόγγου (B. G. U. 66. 5). It appears then that Hephaestias was a distinct village from Bacchias, but was combined with it for some purposes. The site of Ûmm el 'Atl, though it is divided into two halves (cf. p. 35), is, as a whole, too small to suit an amalgamation of two villages. The site of Hephaestias was therefore in the vicinity of Ûmm el 'Atl, but not part of it.

XVI. Order for Payment.

Harît. 17 x 10·5 *cm.* First century B.C.

Order from Ptolemaeus, a scribe, to the sitologus of the village of Autodike, to pay Posidonius from the account of Heraclides 55 artabae of wheat, being the rent of a κλῆρος owned by Posidonius and cultivated by Heraclides. The handwriting of the papyrus strongly resembles that of Gr. Pap. II. xxxviii, written in B.C. 56, and unquestionably belongs to the first century B.C. The first year, therefore, which is mentioned in it cannot refer to a sovereign earlier than Ptolemy Neos Dionysus or later than Augustus.

Πτολεμαῖος γραμματεὺς Πτολεμαί[ωι
σιτολόγωι Αὐτοδίκης χαίρειν.
μέτρησον Ποσειδωνίωι Διδύμου
ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ζηνοβίου
ἐκφόριον οὗ γεγεώργηκεν αὐτοῦ
κλήρου περὶ [Κ]ερκεῆσιν τῆς Πολ(έμωνος)
πυροῦ δρό(μῳ) τεσσαράκοντα πέντε,
/ (πυροῦ) δρό(μῳ) με.
(ἔτους) α, Παῦνι ιθ.

On the *verso*
2nd hand *σίτου ῥυπαρ[ο]ῦ.*

'Ptolemaeus, scribe, to Ptolemaeus, sitologus of Autodike, greeti[illegible]asure out to Posidonius, son of Didymus, on the account of Heraclides, son [illegible]enobius, the rent of Posidonius' holding which has been cultivated by Heraclides and is situated near Kerkeësis in the division of Polemo, by the dromos measure forty-five artabae of wheat; total 45 art. drom. The first year, Pauni 19.'

1. *γραμματεύς*: more probably an official than an agent of Heraclides; cf. xviii (*a*) 1, (*b*) 1. The transaction is rather complicated seeing that Autodike and Kerkeësis were in different *μερίδες*; cf. line 6 and lxxxvi. 20.

7. *δρό(μῳ)*: the artaba of the largest capacity; cf. ci. introd.

10. *σίτου ῥυπαροῦ*: 'dirty corn,' i.e. corn that had not been winnowed.

XVII. Banker's Receipts.

Harît. 13 × 31·5 *cm.* B.C. 121.

Three receipts for sums paid into the royal bank at Crocodilopolis by Marres and two women, Tamarres and Hierobasis (?), respectively. The receipts are all written by the same two hands, and are dated on the same day, Phaophi 19, in the fiftieth year of a Ptolemy, who must be Euergetes II, since none of the others reigned so long. The formula is the same in all, and is remarkable for several resemblances to the earlier rather than to the later Ptolemaic style of bank-receipts (cf. notes on lines 1 and 2).

Owing to the extremely cursive writing, which often degenerates into a series of rounded flourishes, and the frequent use of abbreviations, the nature of the payment is uncertain. The sums paid are apparently copper drachmae. The first column has lost the beginnings of lines, the second and third are complete. We give the text of the second.

(Ἔτους) ν, Φαῶφι ιθ, πέ(πτωκεν) ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Κρο(κοδίλων) πό(λει) τρά(πεζαν)
Ἡρα . . . τρα(πεζίτῃ) ὥστε βασιλεῖ παρὰ Ταμαρρείους
τῆς (Σ)ενθέως ἐπιγρ( ) ὃ̂ Θεαδελ(φείας) τοῦ ν (ἔτους) τ . . ι, / τ.
(ἔτους) ν, Φαῶφι ιθ, ὃ ηρ . . ρτο( ) τ.
2nd hand (ἔτους) ν, Φαῶφι ιθ, ὦ παρατ . . η( ) ορ( ) τ.

1. πέ(πτωκεν): the use of this word has hitherto been characteristic of third and early second century B.C. papyri and ostraca (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 64). In the second century τέτακται became the regular term. But both here and in xviii. 1 the abbreviation is much more like πε than τε.

2. The name of the τραπεζίτης in the dative takes here and in xviii. 2 the place of the usual phrase ἐφ' ἧς the τραπεζίτης.

ὥστε βασιλεῖ: for the mention of the king in receipts for payments to the treasury cf. Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 71. It generally occurs in connexion with πέπτωκεν. The use of ὥστε before it 'on account of the king' is novel. The reading of that word is not quite certain, the strokes being strictly speaking only enough for ωτε; and in xviii. 3 ὥστε does not seem to be the word before βα(σιλεῖ).

3. ἐπιγρ( ): this abbreviation occurs also in xviii. 4, where too it is followed by a symbol which we do not understand, but which is different from the one here. ε at the beginning and ρ at the end are quite certain, and the penultimate letter is either γ or τ. If it is τ, there is only room for one letter between it and the ε, where it occurs in this papyrus; but in xviii. 4 there are some extra flourishes between the ε and γ or τ. The only known name of a tax which is at all suitable is ἐπιγραφή, the land-tax, on which see Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 194 sqq. But in the ostraca where ἐπιγραφή is found the payments are in kind, and are therefore made to a θησαυρός, not to a bank; and since the abbreviation which follows ἐπιγρ( ), both here and in xviii. 4, also probably

belongs to the name of the tax, ἐπιγραφή is not likely to be the right word. In the corresponding passage in Col. I επιγρ is followed by ϛυ[. Θ]εαδελ(φείας).

τ . . ι: in the first receipt, where the figure is ψι instead of τ, the word preceding begins with ϵ and goes off into a flourish, but does not, as here and in the third receipt, end with ι. In spite of the fact that the intervening strokes between τ and ι bear no resemblance to ρ, τρι(ακόσια) may well be the word intended here, and ἑπτ(ακόσια δέκα) there.

4. Either this line or the next contains the signature of the banker, but we are unable to bring either line into correspondence with the ordinary signatures found on bankers' receipts. ηρ is perhaps an abbreviation of the name at the beginning of line 2.

5. The symbol before παρα is possibly the same as that found in xviii. 5.

XVIII. Banker's Receipt.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 12·2 × 14·5 *cm.* B.C. 109 or 73.

This document, which was found in the temple of Sokanobkoneus at Bacchias, is a receipt for the payment of some tax by the priests to a bank, and like xvii is for the most part written in the very rapid cursive characteristic of late Ptolemaic documents, with frequent abbreviations. It is dated in the 'ninth year,' but is undoubtedly somewhat later than xvii; and though the ninth year may perhaps refer to Ptolemy Soter II (B.C. 109) it more probably belongs to the reign of Neos Dionysus, i.e. B.C. 73. Had the papyrus come from Gebelên or Thebes the question of its belonging to the reign of Soter II would hardly arise, but in the Fayûm the transition from the Ptolemaic into the Roman style is noticeable earlier than in the more southern districts. Both the nature of the tax and the amount paid by the priests remain uncertain. The first is perhaps the same as that with which xvii is concerned; the second depends on the interpretation given to the symbol which occurs once in line 4 and twice in line 5, and perhaps signifies talents. On the *verso* is a short account.

"Ετους θ, Θωὺθ κ, πέπ(τωκεν) ἐπὶ τηι ηρα . ( ) κο( ) τρά(πεζαν)
Ἰσιδώρωι καὶ Ἀκουσι(λάωι) τοῖς παρὰ Διονυσίου
τρα(πεζίτου) τῷ βα(σιλεῖ) παρὰ Σοκανοβκονέως θεοῦ μεγάλου
ἱερέων Βαχχ(ιάδος) ἐπιγρ( ) ⳨ πεφ( ) ελ( ) ἱε(ρ) τοῦ η (ἔτους)
⳨ δέκα, / ⳨ ι.

2. l. ἐπὶ τὴν. 3. σοκανο is rewritten. 4. ι of ιερεων corr. from ϵ.

1. πέπ(τωκεν): written πϵ˜. The π is not quite certain, and the curved stroke is found above the second χ of βαχχ simply as an abbreviation mark; but the two letters here are more like πϵ than τϵ (i. e. τέτακται), and πέπτωκεν is confirmed by xvii. 1.

τηι: or perhaps τη simply; the scribe is not at all careful about the number of strokes which he inserts. We should of course expect ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν (place name) τράπεζαν, but the

two words that follow are not reconcileable with an abbreviation of either Ἡρακλέους πόλεως or Κροκοδίλων πόλεως, and even the reading τρά(πεζαν) is doubtful.

3. τῷ Βα(σιλεῖ): cf. xvii. 2. Possibly ὥ(στε) should be read.

Σοκανοβκονέως: for the explanation of this form of Sebek, the crocodile god, see p. 22.

4. ἐπιγρ( ): the abbreviation is apparently the same as in xvii. 3; cf. note *ad loc.* The symbol which follows is identical with that which occurs twice in the next line (cf. xvii. 5, note). Since the payment is to a bank, the name of some kind of coin is required, and the only known symbol for a coin to which this sign bears any resemblance is that for a talent, $\overline{\Lambda}$. But it is much more like the ordinary Ptolemaic sign for ἄρουρα. A very similar sign, of uncertain meaning, occurs in Brit. Mus. Pap. 195.17 and 19, written in the reign of Tiberius.

XVIII (*a*) and (*b*). Orders for Payment of Wheat.

Ûmm el 'Atl. (*a*) 9·3 × 6·5, (*b*) 12·2 × 7·5 *cm.* First century B.C.

These two papyri were found together with a number of similar documents (cxlv–cl) in the temple at Bacchias. They belong to the first century B.C., and are dated in the 19th, 20th and 21st years of an unnamed sovereign, who is more probably Ptolemy Neos Dionysus than Augustus, since μάχιμοι occur in cxlv. They consist of orders addressed to Acusilaus, sitologus, by the γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν or the γραμματεὺς κτηνοτρόφων of Bacchias to pay sums of wheat, generally two artabae, to various persons. At the end come usually the signatures of the κωμογραμματεύς and another official. The γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν was the scribe of the δημόσιοι or οὐσιακοὶ γεωργοί (cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. 256 (d) 3 and 258. 60), and the orders issued by him are apparently concerned, like Brit. Mus. Pap. 256 (d), with the advance of seed corn to the cultivators of βασιλικὴ γῆ (cf. lxxx). But the reading of the crucial passage is unfortunately doubtful. The orders from the γραμματεὺς κτηνοτρόφων relate to freight charges, and are probably orders for payment of the owners of transport animals employed by the government for the carriage of corn to Arsinoe or Ptolemais Harbour, the port of the Fayûm; cf. p. 14, and B. G. U. 802, Brit. Mus. Pap. 256 (a) 6.

Another group of orders for payment, issued by the scribes of the γεωργοί or κτηνοτρόφοι, is Ostr. **14–18**, but the formula is somewhat different; cf. p. 318.

(*a*) Στράτων γρ(αμματεὺς) γεωρ[γ]ῶν
Ἀκουσιλάωι σι(τολόγῳ) χαίρειν. μέτρ(ησον)
[Πε]τεσούχωι Παήσ(ιος) εἰς η . ( ) βα(σιλικὴν)
γῆν πυροῦ δύο, / (πυροῦ) β.
(ἔτους) [κ]α, Θ(ὼθ) ιε.

2nd hand Π̣έταλος μέτρ[η(σον) τὰ]ς προκ(ειμένας)
πυροῦ δύο, / (πυροῦ) β. (ἔτους) κα, Θ(ὼθ) ιε.
3rd hand Μαρρῆ(ς) κ(ωμο)γρ(αμματεὺς) μέτρη(σον) τὰς προκ(ειμένας)
[πυ]ροῦ δύο, / (πυροῦ) β. (ἔτους) κα, Θ(ὼθ) ιϛ.

'Straton, scribe of the cultivators, to Acusilaus, sitologus, greeting. Measure out to Petesuchus, son of Paësis, for . . . domain land two artabae of wheat, total wh. 2 art. The 21st year, Thoth 15.' Countersignatures of Petalos and Marres, village scribe.

3. While βα(σιλικὴν) γῆν is tolerably certain (cf. cxlix and cl), the word which precedes, both here and in cxlix, is illegible.

(*b*) Ὀννῶφρεις γραμματεὺς
κτηνοτρόφω[ν] Βακχι-
άδος Ἀκουσιλάωι σιτο-
λόγωι τῆς α[ὐ]τῆς χαί-
ρειν. μέτρ(ησον) . . να . [. . .
[. .] . φόρ[ε]τρον . . εκτ̣ . [.
[. .] . στου Σ̣υρι̣α̣κοῦ πυροῦ
[ἀρτάβας] τ̣[έσσ]α̣ρ̣α̣[ς], / (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ.
(ἔτους) κα, Θ̣(ὼθ) ιζ.
. . . . σ̣κλης̣ μέτρησον
πυροῦ ἀρτάβας τέσσ[α]ρ[ας],
/ [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ.

10. Final σ (?) of σκλης above the line.

7. Συριακοῦ: cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. 256, where Syrian corn (grown in the Arsinoite nome, as here) of two qualities, πρῶτος and δεύτερος, is mentioned.

III. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD.

XIX. Letter of the Emperor Hadrian.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 22 x 10·3 *cm.* Second century.

While several imperial rescripts are extant in papyri, there have been no instances of private letters of an emperor dealing with non-official topics. Yet, if we may believe the present document, we have here a copy of a letter, or rather part of a letter, written by the Emperor Hadrian to Antoninus, no doubt the future sovereign. By a curious coincidence, too, the letter is con-

cerned with the same subject as the one certainly genuine composition of Hadrian's that has come down to us, the famous poem beginning *animula vagula blandula*, namely the approach of death.

The letter is written on the *verso* of a taxing-list, and consists of fifteen lines, unfortunately incomplete, in a clear cursive hand, not later than the end of the second century. At the bottom is a repetition of the first five lines in a large irregular uncial. No doubt the writing by the first hand is an exercise set by a schoolmaster, that by the second is the copy by a pupil. Both beginnings and ends of lines are lost; but while the size of the lacunae at the beginnings can be determined with tolerable certainty from lines 1 and 16, where Αὐτοκράτωρ must be the first word, it is difficult to estimate the average amount lost at the ends. Comparing lines 3–4 with 18–19 we can, on the assumption that ἀπροσδοκήτως was the last word of lines 3 and 18, obtain a perfectly satisfactory connexion both as regards the sense and the known size of the lacunae at the beginnings of lines 4 and 19. Taking this supposed length of line 3 as the criterion for the ends of other lines, an obvious and satisfactory restoration for the lacunae between lines 5 and 6, 12 and 13, 13 and 14 is also attainable. But the hypothesis that line 3 ended with ἀπροσδοκήτως leads to difficulties in connexion with lines 1 and 2 which are repeated in 16 and 17. The second ω of Ἀντωνίνῳ is over ητ of ἀπροσδοκήτως, and after it is a space of about two letters blank before the lacuna. If ἀπροσδοκήτως is the end of line 3 there is probably nothing lost after Ἀντωνίνῳ at the end of line 1. But there is room for five letters before τ]ῷ at the beginning of line 2. Turning to lines 16—17, however, there is not space for both Ἀντωνίνῳ and five letters in the combined lacunae between Σεβαστὸ[ς and τ]ῷ. Secondly, the restoration [ρι οὔτ]ε will make line 17 equal in length to line 3, but ριουτ can only be made to fill up the lacunae at the end of line 2 and the beginning of line 3 by supposing that ρι was written in line 3 and that a blank space of a letter was left between it and οὔτ]ε ἀλόγως. The ω of ἀώ[ρί is above τω of ἀπροσδοκήτως, so we should naturally expect the word to have been written out in line 2, not divided. On the other hand, if we renounce the view that ἀπροσδοκήτως was the end of the line, then we must supply another adverb preceded by οὔτε, which would require a lacuna of ten letters or more at the end of line 3, and give up the proposed restorations, however tempting, of the lacunae between 5 and 6, 12 and 13, 13 and 14. But on the whole it seems more probable that ἀπροσδοκήτως was the end of line 3. The difficulties which arise in lines 1 and 2 are by no means insuperable. Granted the division ἀώ|ρί in 2–3, we need only suppose that αω|ρει was written to obtain enough letters for the lacuna at the beginning of line 3;

and the inconsistency between lines 1–2 and 16–17 may be explained either by assuming that line 2 being part of the address began much further to the right than lines 1 and 3 (as frequently happens in the case of letters), and that we should read simply 'Αντωνίνῳ | τῷ, or else by supposing that the pupil omitted the word lost after 'Αντωνίνῳ. His copy is sufficiently inaccurate to justify the assumption of a mistake of this kind. We have, therefore, in our text of the letter filled up the lacunae on the hypothesis that ἀπροσδοκήτως was the end of line 3 and that the other lines roughly corresponded to it in length. Owing to the first hand's practice of occasionally leaving gaps between letters, the lacunae may always be one or two letters less than what we have suggested.

The subject of Hadrian's letter is, as has been stated, his approaching end, which the Emperor declares his intention of meeting with fortitude and resignation, based upon a comparison of the length of his own life with that of his parents. No doubt we have only the commencement of an elaborate epistle. At line 15, where the first hand breaks off, it is not even certain that the sentence is complete. After the exordium (1–2), 'The Emperor Caesar Hadrianus to his esteemed Antoninus, greeting,' comes (2–4) the assertion that his death was neither unexpected nor lamentable nor unreasonable. From the vigour with which the points are reiterated (ἀωρί and ἀπροσδοκήτως, ἀλόγως and ἀνοήτως) one may conjecture that the Emperor is repudiating the tone of a consolatory letter from Antoninus. The connexion of the two following lines, 5, 6, with the preceding is not clear owing to the loss of the verb. The person alluded to as tending and comforting the Emperor is no doubt Antoninus himself; perhaps the meaning is, 'I am fully prepared to meet death, though I miss your presence and loving care.' Line 7 is hopelessly obscure; lines 8–10 are introductory to what follows. 'I do not intend to give the conventional reasons of philosophy for this attitude, but to make a plain statement of facts.' Or else πραγμάτων refers to Hadrian's *acta*, and the letter is but the prologue to an account of the Emperor's life, like the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. The sense of the next four lines, 11–14, is clear: 'My father by birth died at the age of forty a private person, so that I have lived more than half as long again as my father, and have reached about the same age as that of my mother when she died.' Line 15 is obscure, and at the end of it the letter breaks off and the repetition of the first five lines by the schoolboy follows.

When we turn to the question how far this letter accords with the known facts about Hadrian, there is nothing which obviously need prevent our accepting it as part of a genuine, or of the translation of a genuine, letter. Hadrian died at the age of 62 after a long and painful illness, during which he was

assiduously tended by Antoninus. Shortly before the end Hadrian retired to Baiae, leaving his adopted successor in charge at Rome (Spart. *vit. Hadr.* 25). The background implied by the letter is therefore perfectly historical. Moreover Vopiscus (*Saturninus* 7) quotes *Adriani epistolam ex libris Phlegontis liberti eius proditam*; and though the genuineness of that letter is open to grave doubt, there is every reason to believe that private letters of Hadrian were published soon after his death. And if so, it is likely that they were widely read in Egypt. The references in the letter to the Emperor's parents are quite consistent with our very scanty knowledge of those persons. Hadrian's father, Aelius Hadrianus Afer, died when his son was ten years old (Spart. *ibid.* 1), which suits the statement in line 12 that he only lived to be forty. Of Hadrian's mother we know no more than her name. There is nothing in the portion of the letter which is preserved that suggests a motive for a forgery, like the reference to the Christians which excites suspicions about the authenticity of the letter of Hadrian quoted by Vopiscus. Lastly, the great antiquity of the papyrus, which was written probably within thirty, certainly within sixty, years of Hadrian's death, is a distinct argument in favour of its genuineness.

On the other hand has to be set the fact that the letter was employed as a school exercise, a circumstance which inevitably gives rise to doubt whether it was ever anything more. An epistle from the dying Hadrian to Antoninus would be a good subject for a composition; and though the use of the letter for school purposes is of course compatible with its authenticity, the evidence, mainly negative, in favour of genuineness barely outweighs the suspicion naturally evoked by the purpose to which it was turned.

[Αὐτοκράτ]ωρ Καῖσαρ Ἀδριανὸς Σε[βαστὸ]ς Ἀν̣[τ]ω̣νίνῳ [
[. . . . . τ]ῷ τειμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν. ὅ[τι ο]ὔτε ἀω̣-[
[ρεὶ οὔτ]ε ἀλόγως οὔτε οἰκτρῶς οὔτε ἀ̣π̣[ροσ]δοκήτω[ς
[οὔτε ἀνοή]τως ἀπαλλάσσομαι τοῦ βίο[υ προ̣ . . . . . .
[. . . . . . .]όναι εἰ καὶ παρατυχόντα μοι νοση[λεύοντα
[καὶ παρα]μυθούμενον καὶ προτρέποντα δι[. . . . . . .
[. . . . . ἀ]δικεῖν ὡ̣ς εὗ̣ρον καὶ ἀπὸ τοιου̣[τ . . . . . .
[. . . . .]ψ̇αι οὐ μὰ Δε[ί'] ὡ̣ς φ[ο]ρτικὸν λόγο[ν . . . . .
[. . .] . [.]κ̣α̣ν̣[. . .] αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπλῆν [. . . . .
[ἀκριβ]εστάτην μνήμην ποιούμενος ε[. . . . .
[. . . . . .] κ̣αὶ ὁ μὲν φύσει πατὴρ γενόμεν[ος . . . .
[τεσσαρά]κοντα βιώσας ἔτη ἰδιώτης μετ[ήλλαξε

[. . ὥστε ἡ]μιολίῳ πλέον με βιῶναι τοῦ πατρό[ς, τῆς
[δὲ μητρ]ός με σχεδὸν τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικ[ί]αν . . [. . . . .
[. . . . . . .]ιτους ετ[.]υς δὲ ἔτυχον αρτ[.]δεικ[. . . . .
2nd hand [Αὐτοκρ]άτωρ Καῖσαρ Ἁδριανὸς Σεβαστὸ]ς Ἀντω-
[νίνῳ τ]ῷ τιμιοτάτῳ χαίρει[ν.] ὅτι οὐ ἀώ[ρ]ὶ οὔτε
[ἀλόγως] οὔτε οἰκτρῶς οὔτε ἀπροσδοκή[τως
[οὔτε ἀ]νοήτως ἀπαλλάσσομε τοῦ βίου προ[. . . . .
[. . . . ο]ναι εἰ κὲ πα(ρα)τυχόντα μοι νοσηλεύο[ντα

12. ἰδιωτης Pap. 19. l. ἀπαλλάσσομαι. 20. l. εἰ καί.

2. ὅ[τι: cf. 17. The principal verb apparently came in the lacunae in 4–5.

5. νοση[λεύοντα, or possibly νοση[λευομένῳ.

8. μὰ Δε[ί]: after μα are some ink spots which we have considered to be accidental, but οιμαι δὲ ὡς could equally well be read.

12. τεσσαρά]κοντα: the number is certain, for Hadrian was 62 when he died: cf. introd. ἰδιώτης: he was ἐστρατηγηκώς according to Dio lxix. 3. 1.

15. The word before δέ is apparently not εὐ[θ]ύς; perhaps ἔτους should be read.

XX. Imperial Edict concerning the Aurum Coronarium.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 24·2 × 34 *cm.* (fragment *a*). Late third or early fourth century. Plate V.

This papyrus is a copy of an important edict concerning the remission of the *aurum coronarium* for the whole empire. The custom of offering golden crowns to victorious rulers, which was known both to the Hellenistic world and to the Romans of the Republic (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 295 sqq., Kubitschek *ap.* Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl. s.v. aurum coronarium*; cf. xiv. above), changed its character under the empire from a semi-voluntary contribution on special triumphal occasions to a regular tax exacted not only at the accession of a monarch, but in some reigns, as for instance that of Elagabalus, annually. Remissions of the *aurum coronarium* are recorded in connexion with Augustus (*Mon. Ancyr.* c. 21), Hadrian (Hist. Aug. *vit. Hadr.* 6. 5), and Severus Alexander (*ibid. vit. Alex. Sev.* 32. 5); and Antoninus Pius (*ibid. vit. Ant. P.* 4. 10) returned most of the *aurum coronarium* which had been offered at the time of his adoption. Several rescripts of fourth century emperors regulating the tax are preserved in Cod. Theod. xii. 13.

There are five fragments of the present papyrus, one (*a*) large and con-

taining the last column practically complete with the ends of lines of the column preceding, the rest small and worm-eaten. One of these, from the top of a column, obviously belongs to the beginning of the edict. The vestiges of the first two lines are too exiguous to afford any information; but in the third line Εὐσε]βὴς Εὐτυχ[ὴ]ς Σεβαστός, and in the fourth]τατος [πα]τὴρ πατρίδο[ς are legible, showing that name and titles of the emperor occupied at least four lines. Though the ends of the first three lines in the penultimate column, which consist of]ς,]ημαι,] . . ι respectively, do not give any help, we think it probable that all the four small fragments belong to this mutilated column, and that when complete the papyrus had but two columns.

The edict is dated at the end in the first year of an emperor whose name is not given. On palaeographical grounds the papyrus can be ascribed with confidence to the period between 270 and 350, but as it may be a copy of a much older document this fact only provides us with a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the edict. The first and second century emperors are however excluded by the mention (Col. II. 3) of Trajan and Marcus as the emperor's πρόγονοι, and the occurrence of the formula Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχὴς Σεβαστός in the list of titles in Col. I. Caracalla is out of the question, because in Egypt the years of his reign are calculated from his father's accession, so that the earliest emperor who can have been the author of the edict is Macrinus. Nor will the combination of the first year, which occurs in the date, with the implication of the speaker that he was sole monarch suit any emperor later than Diocletian, for after 283 there was no emperor before Julian who was sole monarch during his first year, and on palaeographical grounds Julian and his successors are unsuitable. We are therefore limited in our choice of the supposed author to some emperor not earlier than Macrinus, nor later than Diocletian.

The field is narrowed much further if we are right in our interpretation of lines 7–9 that the emperor in question had been Caesar before he became emperor (Αὐτοκράτωρ). In fact, of the emperors between Macrinus and Diocletian only Severus Alexander[1] and Carinus fulfil that condition; and considering the character of Carinus' reign and the fact that he was at first associated with his brother Numerianus, he may be safely left out of account.

The process of eliminating emperors who for various reasons are unsuitable brings us therefore to the conclusion that Severus Alexander was the author

[1] Severus Alexander was not associated with Elagabalus on equal terms during the latter's lifetime; see Klebs, *Prosopographia*, *s.v.* pp. 215–216. The statement there made that he did not receive the title Augustus before Elagabalus' death requires modification in the light of B. G. U. 452 and 663 and Brit. Mus. Pap. 353; but Elagabalus alone bears the title Αὐτοκράτωρ in those instances (Brit. Mus. Pap. 353 is imperfect).

of the edict, a view which seems to provide a satisfactory explanation. The remission of the *aurum coronarium* by that emperor would possess a peculiar appropriateness, since we know from papyri and ostraca that Elagabalus made the imposition annual, at any rate in Egypt, and the cessation of payments for στεφανικόν in papyri after the reign of Elagabalus has already been noted (Milne, *Hist. of Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 228). The references in the papyrus itself to the exhaustion of the empire (lines 5, 14), the mention of Trajan and Marcus as πρόγονοι of the emperor (line 3), a claim which is unintelligible if made by a later emperor than Severus Alexander, the efforts at reform which the emperor claims to be making (14 *sqq.*), all excellently accord with the hypothesis that Severus Alexander is the speaker. Lastly the day, Pauni 30, on which the edict was written suits that emperor, whose accession dates from March 11, A. D. 222. There are indeed two objections: first, that the Hist. Aug. (*vit. Alex. Sev.* 32. 5) states that Severus Alexander remitted the *aurum coronarium* for Rome, but is silent about a general remission such as is ordained by the edict; and secondly, that the papyrus itself must have been written fifty years or more after Severus Alexander's accession. The first objection however is not very serious, for the edict, whether by Severus or another third century emperor, has in any case escaped the notice of the Hist. Aug.; and the second seems to us much less serious than the difficulties which arise in the interpretation of the papyrus, especially of lines 7–9, if it is supposed that Severus Alexander was not the author.

Though the edict is written in a neat and regular cursive, the Greek is extraordinarily corrupt—to such an extent that somewhat violent changes are in places necessary to obtain any satisfactory sense. Apart from the numerous mistakes in spelling the constructions are often so confused as to give rise to the suspicion that the errors lie deeper than in mere carelessness of scribes. Prof. Mitteis, to whom we are indebted for several good suggestions on this papyrus, thinks that the archetype may have been a private, not an official, translation from the Latin.

The object of the edict was to remit both in Italy and the provinces the *aurum coronarium* already either voted or ordered to be voted to the emperor upon his accession, but to insist on the payment of the arrears of *aurum coronarium* which were owing. For his inability to remit these too the emperor apologizes, the reasons having been given in the lost first column. He concludes with assurance of future good government and directions for the publication of the edict.

Owing to the peculiar obscurity of the decree we give first an exact transcription of it (omitting the slight remains of the first column). The scribe

has a tendency to divide words, but as he is very inconsistent and erratic in his method of leaving spaces we have printed the Greek continuously. There follows a reconstruction of the text in modern form with a minimum of alterations necessary to obtain some kind of meaning.

Fr. (a).

Col. II.

ο[. .]σμηδιατοτησχαραστη[.]εαυτωνδηλωσωσιποιησασθαιε . [.]ν̣νηνεπεμοιπαρελθοντιεπιτηναρχην
ε̣ι̣σ̣τ̣ε̣[.]ινβιασθειενμειζωηδυνανταιοθενμοιπαρεστητοβουλευματουτοουδεαποδου̣ν̣τιπαραδιγματων
ενοιστραΐανοντεκαιμαρκοντουσεμαυτουπρογονουσαυτοκρατοραδεμαλλισταδηθ̣αυμασαιαξιουσ
γεγενημενουσομε̣ιμειεσθεεμελλονωνκαιπροστοαλλαγηνπροαιρησειτην̣ουνεγωγνωμηνποιουμαι
ωσειγεμητοτησπ[.]ρ̣α̣τουσκαιτουσδημοσιουσαπορειασενποθωνηπολυαν̣φανερωτεραντηνεμαυτου
μεγαλουψυχιανεπιδικ[.]υμενοσουδανεμελλησακαιεπιεκτουπαρελθοντεσχρονουεκτηστοιουτοτρο
πουσσυντελειασκατιονωφιλετοκαιοπωσαπροστηνκαισαροσπροσηγορειανεπιτοτων[.]τεφανωνονομα
εψηφισμεθαπροτερονκαιετιεψηφισθησομεθακατατηναυτηναιτιανΰποτωνπολεωνειηκαιταυτα
ανειναιαλλαταυταμενουκοιομαιδιαμεικρονενπροσθενειπονταυταδεμοναεπ̣αγ̣α̣φρ̣α̣σ̣ι̣ν̣τασπολισ
ωσεκτωνπαροντωνωρωδυναμεναουπαρειδονδιοπεριστωσαναπανταισεμ[[ν]]ταισ̣πολεσιναπασαισ
ταιστεκατειταλειανκα[.]ταισεντοισαλλοισεθνεσινκαιεπιτηπροφασειτησεμαυτουαρχηστησαυτοκρατοροσ
εφηνκαιβουλομενωνκαιευχομενωναπαντωνπαρηλθονεντετωνχρυσωνστεφανωνχρηματααν̣δ̣[.]σ̣ι̣η
θενταανειναιαυταισταυταδεουδιαπεριουσιανπλουτουποιουνταλλαδιτηνεμαυτουπροαιρεσσινδιη[
σ̣α̣ε̣ι̣[.]π̣ι̣καισαρ . . μικαιπερκεκμηκατοκλινοναναλημψασθαιουχορωνζητησησειναλλασωφρω[. . .
μον̣ωνουπροστοε̣α̣ονγεινομενωναναλωματωνουδεγαρτουτομοισ̣πουδ̣ε̣οται[. .]νεξαπαντω[. . . . .
χρηματωνπλη . νμαλλονφιλανθρωπιατεκαιευεργεσιαισσυναυξηταυτηναρχηνΐναμου
καιτοισηγεμοσιντaικατεπιτροπιαιπαρεμουαπεσσταλμενοισουσεγωειστοακριβεστατονδοκιμειεσασ[
καιπροελομενοσ[.]πεσστιλακακεινοισσυνβουλευταταειηωμετριωτατουσπαρεχειναυτουσμαλλον
γαρτηκαιμαλλον[.]ιτωνεθνωνηγεμονεσσικαταμαθοιεναυμεθοσησαυτουσπροθυμιασφειδεσθαικαι
π̣ροσορασθαιτωνεθνουσιοισεπεσστηκασιπροσ̣εκειαποτακταιτοναυτοκρατοραοραυπαιειναυτοισ
μετατοσαυτησκοσμιοτητοσκαισοφρωσυνησκαιενκρατιασιτατησβασιλιασδιοικουντατουτουτουεμα[
δογματοσαντιγραφατοισκατεκαστηνπαλιναρχουσινγενεσθωεπιμελεσειστοδημασιανμαλισταεστα̣ν̣[. .
συνοπτατοισαναγινωσκουσου
∠απαυνιλ̄

4. second α of αλλαγην corr. 6. οσ of επεδεικνυμενοσ corr. from ου. 8. θα of εψηφισμεθα corr. from μα. ων of πολεων corr.

ὅ[πω]ς μὴ διὰ τὸ τῆς χαρᾶς τῆ[ς] ἑαυτῶν δήλωσιν ποιήσασθαι ε . . . νην ἐπ' ἐμοὶ παρελθόντι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
εἰστε[λ]εῖν βιασθεῖεν μείζω ἢ δύνανται· ὅθεν μοι παρέστη τὸ βούλευμα τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἀποδέοντι παραδειγμάτων
ἐν οἷς Τραιανόν τε καὶ Μάρκον τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ προγόνους Αὐτοκράτορας δὲ μάλιστα δὴ θαυμάσαι ἀξίους
γεγενημένους μιμεῖσθαι ἔμελλον, ὧν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀλλαγὴν προαιρήσειν τὴν γνώμην νῦν ἐμὴν ἐγὼ ποιοῦμαι,
ὡς εἴ γε μὴ τὸ τῆς π[α]ρὰ τοῖς καὶ τοῖς δημοσίας ἀπορίας ἐμποδὼν ἦν, πολὺ ἂν φανερωτέραν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ
μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐπιδεικ[ν]ύμενος οὐδ' ἂν ἐμέλλησα ὅσα καὶ ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ παρελθόντος χρόνου ἐκ τῆς τοιουτοτρό-
που συντελείας κατιόντα ὠφείλετο, καὶ ὁπόσα πρὸς τὴν Καίσαρος προσηγορίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν [σ]τεφάνων ὀνόματι
ἐψηφίσμεθα πρότερον καὶ ἔτι ψηφισθησόμεθα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὑπὸ τῶν πόλεων, καὶ ταῦτα
ἀνεῖναι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ οἴομαι, δι' ἃ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν εἶπον· ταῦτα δὲ μόνα ἐ . . . . σειν τὰς πόλεις,
ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὁρῶ, δυναμένας οὐ παρεῖδον. διόπερ ἴστωσαν ἅπαντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἁπάσαις
ταῖς τε κατ' Ἰταλίαν κα[ὶ] ταῖς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν τὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τῆς Αὐτοκράτορος,
ἐφ' ἣν καὶ βουλομένων καὶ εὐχομένων ἁπάντων παρῆλθον, ἀντὶ τῶν χρυσῶν στεφάνων χρήματα ανδ . . . η-
θεντα ἀνεῖναι αὐταῖς, ταῦτα δὲ οὐ διὰ περιουσίαν πλούτου ποιοῦντα ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν δι' ἥ-
ς ἀεὶ [ἐ]πεὶ Καῖσάρ εἰμι καὶ περικέκμηκα τὸ κλῖνον ἀναλήμψεσθαι οὐχ ὅρων ζητήσεσιν ἀλλὰ σωφρο[σύνῃ,
μόνον οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον γινομένων ἀναλωμάτων. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτό μοι σπουδαιότε[ρο]ν ἐξ ἁπάντω[ν
χρηματίζεσθαι, πλὴν μᾶλλον φιλανθρωπίᾳ τε καὶ εὐεργεσίαις συναύξειν ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, ἵνα ἐμοῦ
καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν τοῖς κατ' ἐπιτροπείας παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀπεσταλμένοις, οὓς ἐγὼ εἰς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον δοκιμάσας

καὶ προελόμενος [ἀ]πέστειλα, κἀκείνοις συμβούλευμα εἴη ὡς μετριωτάτους παρέχειν αὐτούς. μᾶλλον
γὰρ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον [ο]ἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμόνες καταμάθοιεν ἂν μεθ' ὅσης αὐτοὺς προθυμίας φείδεσθαι καὶ
προορᾶσθαι τῶν ἐθνῶν οἷς ἐφεστήκασι προσήκει, εἰ ἀποτέτακται τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα ὁρᾶν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς
μετὰ τοσαύτης κοσμιότητος καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἐγκρατείας τὰ τῆς βασιλείας διοικοῦντα. τούτου τοῦ ἐμοῦ
δόγματος ἀντίγραφα τοῖς καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν ἄρχουσιν γενέσθω ἐπιμελὲς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον μάλιστα ἑστάν[αι
σύνοπτα τοῖς ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν.
(ἔτους) α, Παῦνι λ.

'... lest for the sake of making a manifestation of their joy at my accession to empire they should be compelled to contribute a greater (sum) than they are able. Wherefore I have formed this intention, not wanting in precedents, amongst which Trajan and Marcus, my own ancestors and emperors proved beyond all others to be worthy of admiration, were objects of my imitation, emperors whose policy also, with respect to the adoption of reform, I now make my own, namely that if the fact of the public embarrassment existing in various parts had not stood in my way, I should have made a much more conspicuous display of my magnanimity, and should not have hesitated also to remit the sums which were owed as arrears from the past for contributions of this sort, as well as the sums which I have already been voted on account of the crowns when I received the title of Caesar, or which I may yet be voted on the same pretext by the cities. But while I do not propose to remit these for reasons which I have given shortly before, nevertheless it has not escaped my notice that this is all that the cities, so far as I see under present conditions, can pay. Therefore let all persons in all the cities throughout Italy and other countries know that I remit to them the sums due in place of golden crowns on the occasion of my accession to the empire, to which in accordance with the wishes and prayers of all I have attained, and that I do this not owing to a superfluity of wealth but to my deliberate policy, in pursuance of which, ever since I became Caesar, I have earnestly striven to restore vigour to what was in decline, not by acquisitions of territory (?) but by economy, limiting expenditure to public purposes. For it is not my aim to make money on all occasions, but rather by liberality and the conferring of benefits to increase the welfare of this empire, in order that the governors dispatched by me to posts of rule, officers whom I tested and selected with the utmost care for dispatch—that they also may follow my instructions to behave with the utmost moderation. For the governors of the different countries will learn more and more thoroughly how much zeal it is their duty to show in exercising thrift and in providing for the interests of the peoples over whom they are placed, if they have all been commanded to watch the emperor himself acting with so much propriety and discretion and moderation in the administration of his kingdom. Let the rulers of the several cities see that copies of this my edict are set up in the most public places in full view of those who wish to read. The first year, Pauni 30.'

1. The word after ποιήσασθαι seems to be a substantive with which μείζω agrees; the doubtful ν might be read as τι.

3. From this passage we should naturally, though perhaps not necessarily, infer that Trajan and Marcus had made a remission of *aurum coronarium*. Historians are silent on that point; but Hadrian, who is not mentioned here, is stated (Spart. *vit. Hadr.* 6. 5) to have remitted a large part of the present about to be made to him on his accession, and the omission of his name here would be less remarkable if it is supposed that Trajan and Marcus also made a remission of *aurum coronarium*.

προγόνους: the claim is of course not strictly true; but Septimius Severus called himself the son of Marcus (Dio. lxxv. 7), and if the emperor in question was Severus Alexander, who claimed descent from Caracalla, there would be nothing surprising in his speaking of Trajan and Marcus as his 'ancestors.'

4. ὧν . . . ποιοῦμαι: in the interpretation of this very corrupt and obscure passage we have followed Prof. Mitteis. ἀλλαγὴν προαιρήσειν must refer to the remission decreed further on, though the meaning given to ἀλλαγή is rather strange. To obtain any construction several changes in the Greek are necessary. ὧν refers to Trajan and Marcus, and if it is retained ουν must be altered. Another way of emending the passage would be to omit ὧν, place a stop at προαιρήσειν, and read ⟨ταύ⟩την οὖν ἐγὼ γνώμην. This is nearer the Greek, but yields a less satisfactory meaning.

5. δημοσίας: perhaps δημοσιους should be emended to δημοσίοις, in which case a word has probably been omitted after the first τοῖς.

6. καὶ ἔτι κ.τ.λ.: here again the papyrus is untranslateable as it stands, even if επι is for ἐπεί; the simplest remedy is to insert ὅσα (which may easily have dropped out after ἐμέλλησα), and alter επι to ἔτι. The meaning of lines 7–9 depends on the question whether the *aurum coronarium* πρὸς τὴν Καίσαρος προσηγορίαν in 7 is identical with the *aurum coronarium* ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τῆς Αὐτοκράτορος in 11. If it is, then ταῦτα in lines 8 and 9 must refer only to the κατιόντα ἐκ τοῦ παρελθόντος χρόνου and not to the sums πρὸς τὴν Καίσαρος προσηγορίαν; for from lines 10 to 13 it is clear that the emperor does remit the *aurum coronarium* for his own accession, as contrasted with certain sums which he refuses to remit. If that really is the meaning of the passage, the sentence in 7–9 is very clumsily constructed, for the sums due ἐκ τοῦ παρελθόντος χρόνου are coupled with those paid πρὸς τὴν Καίσαρος προσηγορίαν, as if *both* sets of taxes, and not the first only, would have been remitted if circumstances had allowed, but as a matter of fact are retained. It is very difficult to take ταῦτα in line 8 as referring to only one of the two preceding clauses, and that the clause which is furthest from it. Moreover the point of the proclamation διόπερ ἴστωσαν κ.τ.λ. seems to us to lose much of its force, if the emperor had a few lines previously stated by implication his intention of remitting the *aurum coronarium* for his own accession. We therefore prefer to take Καίσαρος in line 7 in the restricted sense as contrasted with Αὐτοκράτορος in 11, and to suppose that the sums paid or to be paid for his becoming Caesar were, besides those due ἐκ τοῦ παρελθόντος χρόνου, included under ταῦτα in lines 8 and 9, as the sums which are *not* remitted. A slight objection to this interpretation is that the sums due πρὸς τὴν Καίσαρος προσηγορίαν had not yet all been voted by the cities; but if we suppose that the emperor in question became Αὐτοκράτωρ very soon after having been created Καῖσαρ, the objection is avoided. The point is one of some importance because, if our explanation is correct, it affords an important clue for discovering the identity of the author of the edict (cf. introd.). On the presentation of *aurum coronarium* to a Caesar, cf. Hist. Aug. *vit. Ant. P.* 4. 10.

8. We have omitted ειη before καὶ ταῦτα and connected ἀνεῖναι with ἐμέλλησα. Otherwise, to be grammatical, εἴη must be altered to ἦν ἄν. But then the participle

ἐπιδεικνύμενος is awkward, and the sentence is much improved by omitting *εἴη* altogether. *ταῦτα*, both here and in line 9, refers to lines 6–8; cf. note on line 6.

9. *δι' ἅ*: the reasons were given in the first column which is lost. The corrupt word following *μόνα* must be a verb meaning 'contribute' or the like. The doubtful *π* can be read as *στ* or *σσ*.

10. *εμ*: this is quite clearly written; probably the stroke drawn through the following *ν* was intended for the *μ*.

12. *ἀντί* seems to have the sense of *ὑπέρ*, since, as Mitteis observes, it does not seem possible on the supposition that an actual conversion from *χρυσοῖ στέφανοι* to *χρήματα* is meant to obtain a satisfactory meaning for the passage, even though on this theory a more natural meaning for *ἀλλαγή* in line 4 might be obtained. Mitteis suggests that *δεηθέντα* was the word meant at the end of the line, but it is not possible to read anything like it. The doubtful *δ* may be *α*.

13. *αὐταῖς*: sc. *ταῖς πόλεσιν*.

δι' ἣ|ς: this division (if the reading, which is very doubtful, is correct) would not be employed by a good scribe, but cf. Ox. Pap. II. 270. 32 *ὡ|ς ἄν*.

14. The scribe does not seem to have written *εἰμί* after *Καῖσαρ*, for the top of an *ε*, if there had been one, ought to have been visible. Possibly he wrote *ημι*, but the vestiges are too slight to afford much positive evidence.

οὐχ ὅρων ζητήσεσιν: the phrase is difficult; perhaps *οὐ χορῶν* should be read, a reference to the extravagances of Elagabalus; *οὐχ ὁρῶν* gives no sense.

15. *μόνον οὐ*: this clause is very difficult. If *ἴδιον* was the word intended after *τό*, some kind of sense is obtained, but it is not satisfactory. The doubtful *α* may be *λ* but not *δ*.

οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο: the general sense of this sentence is plain, but a verb must be supplied before *πλήν*. The simplest change is to alter *χρημάτων* to *χρηματίζεσθαι*.

20. Our emendation *προσήκει εἰ ἀποτέτακται* for the corrupt *προσεκειαποτακται* of the papyrus changes as little as possible, but *ἀποτέτακται* is hardly expected here.

XXI. Proclamation of Mamertinus.

Harlt. 29·4 × 23 *cm.* A.D. 134.

Proclamation of the praefect Marcus Petronius Mamertinus, ordering receipts to be given for payments made. After referring to a previous edict of his own on this subject, in which he had directed receipts to be given for payments made in accordance with a written document, Mamertinus extends this decree to all payments made for public purposes whether in kind or money or manual labour. He then notices, in a rather obscurely worded paragraph, an abuse which had arisen in connexion with the payment of debts. Apparently creditors were resorting to the device of refusing to accept payment when offered by the debtor, with the object of inducing the latter to pay more than was legally due in order to escape the penalties to which he would be

liable if the debt was not settled within the appointed term. This practice Mamertinus declares to be a penal offence.

Μάρκος Πετρώνιος Μαμερτῖνος
ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου λ[έ]γει·
πρότερον μὲν ἀποχὰς ἀλλήλοις
παρέχειν ἐκέλευσα π[ε]ρὶ τῶν ἐν-
γράφω̣ν̣ δ̣ι̣ὰ̣ τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις
τὰς ἐπ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων γενομέ-
νας, νυνεὶ δὲ συνλήβδ̣[ην π]ε̣ρ̣[ὶ πάν-
των ὁπωσο̣ῦ̣ν διδομένων [[. . .]]
ἢ λογιζομένων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον εἴ-
τ' ἐν γένεσιν εἴτ' ἐν ἀργυρίῳ εἴτ' ἐν σω-
ματικαῖς ἐργασίαις ἢ ἄλλῳ ὁτῳδήτινι
τρόπῳ κελεύω παρέχειν ἀλλήλ[οις
ἀποχὰς τούς τε διδόντας καὶ τοὺς λαμ-
βάν[ο]ντας, ἐπεξελευσόμενος ἐάν
τις ἄλλα παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας. ἐπ⟨ε⟩ὶ
δὲ καὶ τοῦτό τινες ἐμένψαντο
ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν τὰ βιβλία προσφέρον-
τες ο[ἷ]ς ὀφίλουσιν, ἐκίνους δὲ μὴ
βουλομένους παρ' αὐτῶν λαμ-
βάνειν ἵνα τὴν παρολκὴν ἐξωνή-
σωνται τῷ τοῦ προστίμου φόβῳ,
δυνήσωνται μαρτυρίαν ποιήσα̣σ̣θαι
περὶ τῶν μὴ προειεμένων οἱ μὴ διδόν-
[τε]ς [ὅπ]ως τῆς ἀποθίας ἐκῖνοι τὴν
προσήκουσαν δίκη[ν ὑ]πόσχωσι.
(ἔτους) ιη Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἁ-
δριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Φαμενὼθ κϛ.

14. After ξ of επεξελευσομενος ι has apparently been added slightly above the line. 15. l. ποιήσῃ, or supply φαίνηται. 16. l. ἐμέμψαντο. 22. l. δυνήσονται. Over αν of μαρτυριαν some letters (? δε) have been inserted above the line. 23. οι added above the line. 24. l. ἀπειθίας or ἀπαθείας.

'Proclamation of Marcus Petronius Mamertinus, praefect of Egypt. In a previous

edict I commanded that receipts should be mutually given with reference to debts secured by documents, on account of the disputes concerning them which had occurred during my office. I now give orders generally with regard to all payments to the government made in any manner either actual or by credit, whether in kind or in money or in bodily labour or any other way whatsoever, that payer and payee shall mutually give receipts; and I will punish any one who acts in any other manner than that hereby directed. Since moreover the complaint has been made by debtors that though they present their accounts to their creditors, the latter are unwilling to accept payment from them in order that they may be induced by the fear of incurring penalties to buy off the delay, those who are thus prevented from paying shall be allowed to give evidence concerning the refusal to give up the bond, so that the creditors may pay the fitting penalty for their disobedience.' Date.

1. *Μάρκος Πετρώνιος Μαμερτῖνος*: the praenomen of this praefect is commonly given as Sextus, on the strength of CIL. III. 44, where however all that remains of the name is a (supposed) x. The papyrus is no doubt correct in calling him Marcus, which was also the praenomen of his father and his son.

3. *ἀλλήλοις*: cf. note on 12, where *ἀλλήλοις* is further emphasized.

4. *τῶν ἐνγράφων*: sc. *ὀφειλημάτων*. The distinction between the previous decree of Mamertinus and the present one is that while the former referred only to debts which were the subject of written agreements, the latter applies to payments of taxes and similar government dues which did not depend on contract.

10–11. *ἐν σωματικαῖς ἐργασίαις*: under this head would be included the work on the embankments; cf. lxxvii–ix.

12–14. It is here explicitly stated that payer and payee were to give each other receipts. This ought certainly to mean, not merely that they were each to have a copy of a single receipt, but rather that distinct receipts should be written by both parties, and exchanged. A similar explanation is given by Wilcken, *Ost.* I. 638, of the terms *σύμβολον* and *ἀντισύμβολον*. The character of the receipt given by the payee is obvious enough; the difficulty is to see what can have been the nature or purpose of that supposed to be written by the person making the payment, and to find a concrete example of such a document. Moreover if, as seems extremely probable, in the two receipts which are here ordered by Mamertinus to be written are to be recognized the *σύμβολον* and *ἀντισύμβολον*, the extant examples of documents so entitled give no support to the view that one or other of them was issued by the person making the payment; cf. e.g. B. G. U. 293. 1 and lxxiii–iv of this volume. It must, therefore, be supposed that Mamertinus did not mean more than that each party was to have a copy of the receipt written by the person receiving payment.

17. *βιβλία*: *χρήματα* would rather be expected. Perhaps *βιβλίον* is here used for the sum mentioned in the *βιβλίον*; or the meaning may be that the debtor brought together with the money his copy of the contract of loan to be cancelled by the creditor.

17–25. This is an obscure passage, which will not construe as it stands. The simplest correction seems to be to read *δυνήσονται* for *δυνήσωνται* in 22, which then begins the apodosis, and to ignore the *δε* which seems to have been written above the line after *μαρτυρίαν* (cf. critical note). The scribe may well have found the sentence puzzling, and attempted an emendation. *οἱ μὴ διδόντες* in 23 ought to be the persons who do not pay, apparently a compressed phrase meaning 'those who are prevented from paying,' not 'those who do not give receipts,' the word for which in this document is *παρέχειν*. *ἐκῖνοι* in 24 must be identical with the *ἐκίνους* of 18, the creditors. The

only difficulty in our view of the passage is the unusual meaning given to ἐξωνήσωνται, 'buy off,' i.e. make an extra payment to prevent the delay caused by the creditors.

23. προειμένων may be either middle (sc. the creditors) or passive (the receipts, or the bonds of the debtors).

XXII. Ptolemaic Marriage Laws.

Harît. 24·8 x 12 *cm.* First century A.D.

This very interesting document is a copy of a series of regulations, apparently issued by one of the Ptolemies, concerning marriage. Unfortunately the papyrus is so mutilated that only a very general idea of its drift is attainable. But the bare fact of the existence of these elaborate ordinances, which bore both a civil and a religious aspect, is an important addition to our knowledge.

The first step prescribed is an announcement on the part of the bridegroom to some official of his name, age, &c., and the date of the proposed ceremony. A corresponding announcement was to be made by the bride, acting under the authority of her father (3-7). This regulation is followed by a provision concerning the sacrificial ceremonial, for which the ἱεροθύται were responsible (8, 9); the dowry, on the other hand, was in some way connected with officials called θεσμοφύλακες (9, 10). Nothing is known of the functions of either the ἱεροθύται or θεσμοφύλακες from other sources. After the announcement of the date of the marriage had been made certain payments became due (11-14). The remaining regulations relate to divorce, in case of which the dowry of the wife was to be returned, the husband being liable to penalties if convicted of having failed to produce it. If the wife was divorced in a state of pregnancy the husband was responsible for her adequate maintenance, and also for that of her child (21-29).

It is noticeable that the rules here laid down for divorce are very similar to those actually found in marriage contracts of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The obligation to return the dowry is regularly inserted; and provisions resembling those contained in lines 21-29 also occur; cf. especially Pap. Gen. 21, Ox. Pap. II. 265. 24, 267. 20. No trace of anything corresponding to the formalities prescribed in the other part of the papyrus is found in extant marriage contracts, but it does not necessarily follow that they had entirely vanished. At least it is instructive to find that the memory of ordinances belonging to a bygone *régime* was carefully preserved.

On the *verso* of the papyrus is part of an account of legal proceedings (διαλογισμός) dated in the third and fourth years of Tiberius. This copy of

them, however, was made much later, being apparently not earlier than the second century. It is too fragmentary to be worth printing, and we only notice the mention of Ἴσιτος θεᾶς μ[εγίστης.

[Διέτα]ξεν Πτολεμα[ῖος
[. . . .]θαι καὶ ἀπολείπε[ιν
[ἀπο]γραφέσθωι πρ[
[αὐτο]ῦ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τ̣[
[τὸ]ν̣ μῆνα καὶ τὴν ἡμέρ[αν   ἀπογρα-
φέσζωι δὲ καὶ ἡ γ[υ]νὴι [
ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ε[
ἱεροθύται καταβαλέτ[ωσαν
βοτὸν ἢ ο[ἱ]πόδικοι ἔσ[τωσαν
τὴν φερνὴν ἣν ἐὰν [
τοῖς θεσμοφύλαξι [ἐπειδὰν δὲ
ἡ ἀπογραφὴι γένητα[ι
ὀφείλῃ κατὰ τὸν νόμ̣[ον   ἡμιό-
λιον καθάπερ ἐγ δίκ[ης
φερνῆς κατὰ τὸν ν[όμον
ἀποδείξεως τῶν δο[
φερνὰς μήπω {ε}ούσης α[
δραχμὰς ἢ ἔλασσον διδω[ἐὰν
δέ τις μὴ ἀποδῶι (τ)ῇ γυναι[κὶ   ἀποτι-
σάτωι ἐὰν δίκηι νικᾶται κ̣[ἐπὶ δὲ
κυούσης ἀποπομπῆι ἐὰν κ[
ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀποπέμπηι περιμε̣ν̣[
κατὰ τὰ γενάμενα τρεφέτ̣[ω   τὴν γυ-
ναῖκα τὰ ἐπειτήδεια παρέχω̣[ν
τῇ μητρὶ παρέχειν ἀναλισκέτω [τὸ παι-
δίον ἐπειδὰν γένηται ἅπερ τ̣[
ταιδιω παρέχειν τὰ ἐ[πι]τήδια τῇ μητρὶ . [
ὁ̣ω̣ς ἐὰν τὸ παιδίον κυμήσηται[ι
ὅτε ἐὰν βούληται, τῇ δὲ γυναι[κὶ

8. ἱεροθυτει Pap. 9. l. ἐπίδικοι. 27. παρεχειν added above the line. 28. l. κοιμήσηται, or κομίσηται.

1–2. These lines may have run *πρὸ τοῦ γυναῖκα γα[μεῖσ]θαι καὶ ἀπολείπε[ιν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκίαν.*

3. Probably *πρ[ὸς (τὸν δεῖνα).*

8. *ἱεροθύται* is perhaps a mistake for *ἱεροθύταις*; it seems more natural to make the bridal couple the subject of *καταβαλέτ[ωσαν.* The papyrus contains several errors, perhaps due to having been copied from a Ptolemaic document.

25. The meaning appears to be that the husband was to provide for his late wife at a rate similar to that which she would have expected from her mother, i.e. in a manner befitting her rank:—*οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἢ ὅσα προσῆκεν αὐτῆς] τῇ μητρὶ παρέχειν.* The passage might, however, also be taken to mean that the husband was to supply as much as he would to his own mother. In 27 *τῇ μητρί* is the wife.

27. *ταιδιω* is perhaps a mistake for *παιδίῳ.*

XXIII. List of Persons qualified for Office.

Harît. 28 × 37·5 *cm.* Second century A.D.

Parts of two columns of an alphabetical list of persons of means with a note of the offices which they were or had been holding. The papyrus preserves only a small portion of the original list, since these columns are occupied with the letter Σ; the second column is numbered at the top χ. The statement of the (annual?) value of the property owned by each person is lost except in the first seven cases, in each of which it is 1000 drachmae or upwards. In the left-hand margin, opposite the several entries, the name of a place, usually that at which either the property or the office was held, is inserted in an abbreviated form, being intended to catch the eye glancing down the page. The list has been revised (by the original hand) some time after it was written, and the fact that some of the persons had retired from their office is recorded. The document should be compared with B. G. U. 6, 18, 91, &c., and Brit. Mus. Pap. 199, which is probably to be explained as a similar property-qualification list, though the editor prefers another interpretation. We print as a specimen the first half of Col. I, which is the best preserved part of the papyrus. Other village-names mentioned, besides those occurring below, are Ἀλεξ(άνδρεια?), Ἀρσινόη Ἡρ[, Ἡράκλεια, Κερκεσοῦχ(α), Πτολ(εμαὶς) Ὅρ(μος), Ταλεί, Ταμαυσω( ), and Φιλωτ(ερίς). Several other offices also occur, but they are mostly difficult to make out. We note the following:—I. 25 *ἐπιτ(ηρητὴς) γρ(αφείου?) μητροπ(όλεως)*, 31 *ἐπιτ(ηρητὴς) σταθμοῦ Πτολ(εμαΐδος) Ὅρ(μου)*, II. 3 *πληρωτὴς Σεβ(εννύτου)*, 5 *πληρωτὴς [Κερ]κεσούχ(ων)*, 11 *βοηθ(εἰς) εἰς . . ἱρο( ) νομ[ο]ῦ φυλ(ακ . .)*, 20 . *ερα( )* or *ἱρα(νάρηχς?) Ἡρακ(λείας)*, 22 *ὁρμοφύλ(αξ) Καινῆς.*

On the *verso* are parts of three columns of a register of land-proprietors.

Col. I.

[[Σαραπίων Ἀλκίμου τοῦ Ἁρποκρατίωνος ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἔχω(ν) πό(ρον) (δραχμὰς) ᾿Γ
δοθεὶς εἰς ἐπιδρομ(ὴν) τῆς μητροπ(όλεως).
τετελ(ευτηκώς).]]
Σαραπίων Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Πάπου ἀπὸ Φρε(μεῖ) ἔχω(ν) πό(ρον) (δραχμὰς) ᾿Αφ
Σεβ(εννύτου) γενό(μενος) [[νυνεὶ ὢν]] ἐπιτ(ηρητὴς) οὐσ(ιακῶν) Σεβ(εννύτου).
Σαραπίων Ζωίλου ἀπὸ μητροπ(όλεως) γεουχ(ῶν) ἐν Βουβάστῳ ἔχω(ν) πό(ρον) (δραχμὰς) ᾿Α
Βουβ(άστου) γενό(μενος) [[νυνεὶ ὢν]] ἐπιτ(ηρητὴς) οὐσ(ιακῶν) Βουβάστου.
Σαραπίων Θέωνος ἀπὸ τη̣ . . . . . . .π̣( ) ν̣υ̣ν̣ε̣ὶ̣ ὢ̣ν̣ ἐ̣ν̣ Νεί̣λ(ου) πόλ(ει) ἔχω(ν) πόρο(ν) (δραχμὰς) ᾿Αφ.
Σισόις ὁ καὶ Ἁρποκρατίω(ν) Ἀρείου γεουχ(ῶν) ἐν Ψενυρί(δι) ἔχω(ν) πό(ρον) (δραχμὰς) ᾿Α
Ψεν(υρίδος) γενό(μενος) [[νυνεὶ ὢν]] ἐπιτ(ηρητὴς) οὐσ(ιακῶν) Βουβ(άστου).
Σωτᾶς Διογένους ἀπὸ μητροπ(όλεως) γεουχ(ῶν) ἐν Ἰβίω(νι) (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) ἔχω(ν) πό(ρον) (δραχμὰς) ᾿Β
Ἰβίω(νος) (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) γενό(μενος) [[νυνεὶ ὢν]] ἐπιτ(ηρητὴς) ἑρμηνίας, ἁλοπώλ(ης).
Σαταβοῦς Σοχώτου ἐπικαλ(ούμενος) λαχανοπώλ(ης) ἔχω(ν) [πό(ρον)] (δραχμὰς) ᾿Α
Καρ(ανίδος) νυνεὶ ὢν ἐπιτ(ηρητὴς) γε[ν]η(ματογραφουμένων) Καρ(ανίδος).

1–3. Lines 1–2 bracketed and τετελ inserted later. 5. νυνει ων bracketed and γενο inserted later; so too in 7, 10, 12. 8. inserted later.

1. Μακεδόνων: i.e. the ἄμφοδον of that name at Arsinoë. Φρε(μεῖ) in 4 is another Arsinoite ἄμφοδον, as is Βιθ(υνῶν) Ἰσίω(νος), which occurs in Col. II.

2. ἐπιδρομ(ὴν) τῆς μητροπ(όλεως): nothing is known of this office from other sources, but cf. cvii. 7. We are equally uninformed respecting the ἐπιτ(ηρητὴς) ἑρμηνίας in 12 and the other titles mentioned in the introduction.

5. ἐπιτ(ηρητὴς) οὐσ(ιακῶν): that επιτ is to be expanded ἐπιτ(ηρητής) and not ἐπὶ τ(ῆς) or τ(ῶν) is rendered practically certain by a comparison of l. 14 ἐπιτ(ηρητὴς) γε[ν]η(ματογραφουμένων) with B. G. U. 49. 5 where the same phrase occurs similarly abbreviated but followed in lines 6–7 by τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρ⟨ήσ⟩εως. An ἐπιτηρητὴς οὐσιακῶν is not found elsewhere, though we have the phrase κατεσχῆσθαι εἰς ἐπιτήρησιν ο[ὐ]σιακ(ῆς) μισθώσεως in B. G. U. 619. 21. He was evidently a subordinate official connected with the royal domains, similar to the προεστὼς οὐσίας of B. G. U. 650. 1, and the προνοητὴς οὐσίας of Brit. Mus. Pap. 214. 3.

14. ἐπιτ(ηρητής) γε[ν]η(ματογραφουμένων): cf. cvi. 9 and B. G. U. 49. 5 ἐπιτ(ηρητὴς) γενη(ματογραφουμένων) ὑπαρχ(όντων) κώμης Νείλου πόλ(εως) (Wilcken). For the meaning of γενηματογραφεῖσθαι cf. note on xxvi. 8.

XXIII (*a*). List of Persons Qualified for Office.

Harît. 19·8 x 33·3 *cm*. Second century.

This papyrus, of which parts of three columns are preserved, is like xxiii a list of persons with the offices which they had held or were holding and the value of their property. Only one entry is complete, which we give below. It is of special interest, because the individual in question had been employed in the government of the oasis of Ammon and the surrounding country, about which very little has hitherto been known. The home of both this person and three others mentioned in the papyrus was Eroathis, a town probably outside the Fayûm. One of the persons mentioned in the second column had been a πράκτ(ωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) and was now ἐπ[ὶ] τῆς καθάρσεως τοῦ δημοσίου πυροῦ τόπου περὶ Σύρων.

On the *verso* are parts of three much mutilated columns of a list of payments for taxes by different persons. ἐπιστατικοῦ ἱερέων (cf. li. 5) and γυψικῆς (so doubtless and not τυψικῆς in B. G. U. 471. 15), the tax on the trade of a plasterer, occur.

Φιλάδελφος Νεμεσίωνος ἀπὸ Ἐροάθεως
εἰδὼ{ω}ς γράμματα (ἐτῶν) με
γενόμ(ενος) γρ(αμματεὺς) νομῶν τινων ἰδ[ί]ου λόγου καὶ ἰσαγωγεὺς στρατηγοῦ Ἀμμωνιακῆς καὶ σεκκ( ) χωρατα
τῶν Καβαλείτου καὶ ὁρισμοῦ καὶ ἐφορίω(ν)
Μετριλείτ[ου], νυνὶ ὢν γρ(αμματεὺς) βασιλικοῦ Λιβύης,
ᾧ ὑπ(άρχουσι) περὶ Ἐροᾶθιν (ἄρουραι) ια (δραχμῶν) Ἐ
καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκόπ(εδα) (δραχμῶν) Ἐφ
καὶ περὶ Αὐρι( ) (ἄρουραι) λ (ταλάντου) α,
/ (τάλαντα) β (δραχμαὶ) Ἀφ.

3. νομων τινων over the line. 6. βασιλικου over the line.

2. εἰδὼ{ω}ς γράμματα: one of the persons mentioned in the next column is said to be ἀγρ(άμματος).

3. The title εἰσαγωγεύς has not, so far as we know, occurred before in the Roman period. In the Ptolemaic period the εἰσαγωγεύς was a kind of magistrate's clerk, accompanying the chrematistae on their circuits (cf. e.g. xi. 26). Probably Philadelphus performed similar functions for the strategus of the oasis.

6. βασιλικοῦ: sc. γραμματέως. Or else we should read γρ(αμματέως), supplying εἰσαγωγεύς.

XXIV. Declaration concerning an Edict.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 22·5 × 8·7 *cm.* A.D. 158.

Declaration on oath addressed to Diodorus, strategus of the divisions of Themistes and Polemo, by a village police officer that he had put up at a certain farmstead (ἐποίκιον) a copy of an edict of the praefect Sempronius Liberalis ordering persons who were staying away from their homes to return to them. A proclamation of Liberalis on this subject is preserved in B. G. U. 372, and this no doubt is the ἐπιστολή referred to. The proclamation was however issued in A.D. 154, four years earlier than the date of this declaration, and was to take effect after a period of three months (Col. II. 17, 18). Why the declaration should have been made after so long an interval is obscure; probably this official had been accused of neglecting to publish the edict of Liberalis by some person who had been prosecuted for disobeying it.

Incidentally the papyrus supplies the information that Sempronius Liberalis was still in office in Oct. 158. The latest date of this praefect previously attested was Jan. 1, 156 (B. G. U. 696); and P. Meyer (*Heerwesen der Ptolemaër und Römer*, p. 229) had wrongly placed the praefecture of Valerius Eudaemon in 157–8, in spite of our arguments in Pap. Ox. II. pp. 173–4 for assigning that praefect to the end of Hadrian's reign.

[Δι]οδώρῳ στρ(ατηγῷ) Ἀρσι(νοΐτου) Θεμ[ίστου
καὶ Πολέμωνος μ[ερίδων
Πουσεῖμις Ὀρσενούφε[ως τοῦ
Πετεραίπιος ἀρχεφ[όδου ἐποι-
κ̣ί̣ο̣υ̣ Δάμα. ὀμ[νύω τὴν
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα[ρος
[Ἀ]δριανοῦ Ἀντων[ίνου Σεβαστοῦ
[Ε]ὐσεβοῦς τύχην π̣[ροθεῖναι
[ἐν] τ̣ῷ ἐποικίῳ ἀντίγρ[αφον
ἐπιστολῆς γραφείσης ὑ̣[πὸ τοῦ

[λα]μπροτάτου ἡγεμόν[ος
Σεμπρωνίου Λιβεράλι(ο)ς
περὶ τῶν ἐπιξένων κατα-
μενόντων ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ
ὥστε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνέρ-
χεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν διεψεῦσθαι
ἢ ἔνοχος εἴην τῷ ὅρ[κῳ.
Πουσεῖμις (ἐτῶν) λ οὐλ(ὴ) ποδὶ [ἀ]ριστ(ερῷ).
ἐγρ(άφη) δ(ιὰ) Σα . . . . ς νομο[γ]ρ(άφου) ἐπακο-
λουθοῦντος Διοδώρου ὑπηρέ-
του, φαμένου μὴ εἰδέναι γρ(άμματα).
(ἔτους) κβ Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ
κυρίου, Φαῶφι λ.

'To Diodorus, strategus of the divisions of Themistes and Polemo in the Arsinoite nome, from Pousimis, son of Orsenouphis, son of Peteraipis, police officer of the farmstead of Dama. I swear by the Fortune of the Emperor Caesar Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius that I have set up in the farmstead a copy of the letter written by his excellency the praefect Sempronius Liberalis, ordering strangers staying in the farmstead to return to their own home, and that I have told no falsehood, otherwise may I be liable to the consequences of the oath. Pousimis, aged thirty, having a scar on the left foot. Written by S . . . ., scribe of the nome, with the concurrence of Diodorus, clerk, Pousimis professing to be illiterate.' Date.

4–5. ἀρχεφ(όδου ἐποι)κίου: an ἀρχέφοδος of an ἐποίκιον does not appear to be elsewhere recorded, ἀρχέφοδος κώμης being the regular title. But l. 9 implies that the ἐποίκιον in question had been previously mentioned, and if so, it must have been in l. 5. There is, however, no necessary inference that ἐποίκια regularly had their own ἀρχέφοδος. This place may have been exceptional; or if the ἀρχέφοδος κώμης was responsible also for the ἐποίκια in his neighbourhood, Pousimis here might very well describe himself as the ἀρχέφοδος of the ἐποίκιον to which his oath referred.

8. π[ροθεῖναι: προτιθέναι is the word used by Liberalis with regard to the publication of his edict (B. G. U. 372, II. 18).

12–16. An edict similar to that of Liberalis was issued at the beginning of the next century by Valerius Datus (B. G. U. 159), and early in the third century by Subatianus Aquila (Pap. Gen. I. 16. 19).

14. ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ: Pousimis applies the proclamation, which was of course quite general in its terms, to the particular case in which he was interested.

19. νομο[γ]ρ(άφου): cf. xxvi. 15 and Ox. Pap. I. 34. I. 9, Ox. Pap. II. 239. 1, B. G. U. 18. 27.

XXV. Work on the Embankments.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 28·5 × 8·8 *cm.* A.D. 36.

A list drawn up by the village scribe of Euhemeria of persons then at work upon a certain embankment; cf. lxxvii–ix.

Παρ(ὰ) Ἡρακλείδ(ου) κωμογρ(αμματέως)
Εὐημερ(είας) Θεμίστο(υ) μερίδ(ος).
εἰσὶν ὑ ἐν ἔργωι γεγονότ(ες)
ἐν τῇ Μαγαείδι ἐπὶ τῷ {χώ(ματι)}
χώματι τῆς Ἰωσσ̣ί̣δο(ς)
ἀπὸ μη(νὸς) Μεσορὴ κδ τοῦ ἐνεσ-
τῶτο(ς) κβ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρο(ς)
Σεβαστο(ῦ), ὧν τὸ κατ' ἄνδ(ρα).
Ὀρσενοῦφ(ις) Πουάρ(εως) Ὀξ(υρύγχων),
Στοτοῦη(τις) Πεναῦτο(ς),
Στοτοῦη(τις) Σελεουᾶ(τος),
/ ἄνδ(ρες) γ.
(ἔτους) κβ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
[Σ]εβαστο(ῦ), Μεσ[ο]ρὴ κδ.

3. l. οἱ. 6. κδ inserted above line.

'From Heraclides, village scribe of Euhemeria in the division of Themistes. The following were at work at Magaïs upon the dam of Iossis from the 24th of the month Mesore of the present 22nd year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, namely Orsenouphis, son of Pouaris, of Oxyrhyncha, Stotoetis, son of Penaus, Stotoetis, son of Seleouas; total, three men.' Date.

4. Μαγαείδι: cf. cccxxxii, B. G. U. 802. II. 4, &c.

XXVI. Official Correspondence.

Harît. 20·8 × 18·2 *cm.* A.D. 150.

A reply from the scribes of the metropolis and the village scribes of the divisions of Themistes and Polemo to a letter sent to them by the strategus. The purport of the letter of the strategus, a copy of which is enclosed, is obscured by mutilation, but it evidently related to some diminution of the

revenues of the province, and directed the scribes to furnish a list of suitable persons who should be appointed to inquire into and report upon the matter. The answer of the scribes is a short statement that they have complied with this request.

Διογ[έ]νει στρ(ατηγῷ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμων[ος μερίδων
παρ[ὰ Ἡ]ραίσκου τοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Διοσκόρου γ[ρ(αμματέων)
μητροπ(όλεως)
καὶ τῶν [τ]ῆς Θεμίστου κ[αὶ] Πολέμωνος μερίδων κ[ωμογραμματέων.
πρὸς [τὸ] ἐπισταλὲν ἡμεῖν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐπίσταλμα, οὗ ἐστ[ιν ἀντίγραφον·
Διογένης στρ(ατηγὸς) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος [μερίδων
γραμματεῦσι μη[τ]ροπόλεως καὶ κωμογραμματε[ῦσι χαίρειν.
τῷ ἐ[νε]στῶτι ιγ (ἔτει) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου [. . . . .
τῶν ἐν ταῖς μερίσ[ι] γενημ(ατογραφουμένων) [ὑπ]αρχόντων καὶ οἰκοπέ[δων . . . . .
τῆς διοικήσεως [κ]αὶ οὐσιακῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ ιδ (ἔτους) [. . . . .
ὑπό [τ]ε ἐμοῦ καὶ το[ῦ τῆς Ἡρακ(λείδου)] μερίδος βασιλικοῦ γ[ραμματέως
καὶ τοῦ κεχειροτονη[μέν]ο[υ π]ρὸς τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ . . . [. . . . .
. [. . . .]ου Φιλώτου Σεμενθίωνος τοῦ καὶ Σελσια[.ο]υ [. . . . .
κατ[οικοῦ]ντος ἐν Ἡρακλεοπολείτῃ, ἵν' οὖν τοὺς συνοψιοῦντας τ[. . . .
[. . . . . . .]. κτῆσιν τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐπελεύσεως φανέν[των . . . . .
[. . . . . .]λει καὶ τὸν διὰ τοῦτο μιούμενον φόρον . [. . . . .
[. . . . . . .] φόρων διαφέρει ἀναδῶτε [.] εὐπόρου[ς . . . . .]λιτ[
[. . . . .] κινδύνῳ ἐπεστείλαμεν. σεσημ(ειώμεθα).
(ἔτους) [ιγ Αὐ]τοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου [Αἱ]λίου Ἁδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίν[ο]υ
[Σεβαστ]οῦ Ε[ὐσ]εβοῦς, Φαμε[ν]ὼθ β.
Σαραπίων ὑπηρέτης μεταδέδωκα Φαμ[ενὼθ] β.

3. [τ]ης: l. τῶν.

2. The *γραμματεῖς μητροπόλεως* were to the capital what the *κωμογραμματεῖς* were to the villages. Thus to them, along with the strategus and royal scribe, are addressed returns from inhabitants of the metropolis, e. g. xxviii. 2, xxx. 2.

8. *γενημ(ατογραφουμένων)*: cf. xxiii. 14, cvi. 9, Brit. Mus. Pap. 164. 2 *ὑπαρχόντων γενηματογρ(αφουμένων) πρὸς τὸν τῆς διοικήσεως λόγον*, and B. G. U. 282. 19. *γενηματογραφεῖν* is explained by Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. p. 148, as meaning to confiscate by the government, a sense which suits the passages in which the word has so far been recognized.

9. *τῆς διοικήσεως [κ]αὶ οὐσιακῶν*: i. e. either subject to the ordinary government administration or belonging to the special department of the imperial domain-lands. For this contrast between *διοίκησις* and *οὐσιακά* cf. B. G. U. 84. 5. At the end of the line [*προσόδου* is perhaps to be supplied.

11. *ὑπὸ τοῦ* . . . : the name of some important official, probably either the praefect or epistrategus, is to be supplied. The traces at the end of the line are very scanty, but so far as they go would suit *λαμ[προτάτου*.

14. *ἐπέλευσις* may mean either a raid (cf. Ox. Pap. I. 69. 15) or 'review,' 'examination.'

15–16. The sense may be, 'to report how much the diminished revenue differs from those of previous years,' *τὸν* . . . *φόρον* [*ὅσον τῶν ἔμ*|*προσθεν*] *φόρων διαφέρει*.

16. *ἀναδῶτε*, which governs *τοὺς συνοψιοῦντας*, apparently ends the letter of the strategus. *ἀναδιδόναι* (or *εἰσδιδόναι*) is the regular word used for presenting a list of well-to-do persons (*εὔποροι*) from whom a certain number were to be selected for a *λειτουργία*. Cf. Ox. Pap. I. 82. 2 *τὰς ἀναδόσεις τῶν λειτουργῶν*, and B. G. U. 194. 22.

17. Before] *κινδύνῳ*, *ἡμετέρῳ* may be supplied; or perhaps]*κινδύνῳ* is part of a proper name, *Ἀ*]*κινδύνῳ*.

XXVII. Selection of Boys (*ἐπίκρισις*).

Kaṣr el Banât. 22·2 × 16·4 *cm*. A.D. 151–2.

Application from Dionysammon for the *ἐπίκρισις* of his son Nemesianus, i.e. his admission to the list of privileged persons who were exempt, wholly or partially, from the poll-tax. The application is addressed, as usual in the case of documents of this class from the Fayûm, to two ex-gymnasiarchs. A long statement of the evidence upon which the claim was based is appended, and is mainly supplied, as in other instances, by the census lists in which Dionysammon and his wife had been returned. A full discussion, in the light of new evidence from Oxyrhynchus, of the meaning of *ἐπίκρισις* and of the problems connected with it will be found in the introduction to Ox. Pap. II. 257. The question has also been lately re-examined by P. Meyer, *Das Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Aegypten*, pp. 115 sqq., who however had not the advantage of acquaintance with the fresh material from Oxyrhynchus, and could only refer to it in an appendix (pp. 229–230).

This document formed part of a series, being adjoined both on the right and left by other documents, of which however too little remains to enable us to tell whether they were similar in character, or had any other connecting link. The second line of the document on the right is *ἀντίγρ(αφον)*, the sixteenth *ἐκ διαστρ[ωμάτων*. On the *verso* are parts of three columns of a list of persons accompanied by amounts in money.

1st hand *Μεσορὴ ϛ*.
2nd hand *Γαίῳ Ἰουλίῳ Μαξίμῳ καὶ Ἡρακ[λ . . . .]ιδίωι*
γεγυμνασια[ρ]χηκόσι ἐπικρι[ταῖς]
παρὰ Διονυσάμμωνος Διονυσίου το[ῦ . . . . .] . . [. ο]υ Διονυ-

σάμμωνο[ς] μη(τρὸς) Ἀφροδοῦτος κατοικων .[. . . .] ἀναγρ(αφομένου) ἐπ' ἀμφό(δου)
Μακεδόνων. τοῦ γεγονότος μοι ἐκ τῆς γενομένης καὶ ἀπο-
πεπλεγμένης μου γυναικὸς ⟨Σ⟩αραπιάδο[ς] τῆς Ἁρποκρατίωνο(ς)
τοῦ Σαμβᾶ θυγ(ατρὸς) κατοίκων υἱοῦ Νεμεσιανοῦ τοῦ καὶ Ἁρποκρα-
τίωνος ἐπικεκλημ(ένου) Διοσκόρου προσβεβηκ(ότος) τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ιε (ἔτει)
Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Κα[ί]σαρος τοῦ κυρ[ί]ου ὀφείλ(οντος) ὑφ' ἡμῶν
ἐπικριθ(ῆναι) κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ(έντα) ὑπέταξα τά τε ἐμ[οῦ κα]ὶ τὰ τῆς μη(τρὸς)
αὐτοῦ δίκαια. ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ Διονυσάμμων [ἐπ]ικριθ(εὶς) τῷ κ (ἔτει)
θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου ἀπεγρ(αψάμην) καὶ ταῖς κα[τ]ὰ καιρὸν κατ' οἰκί(αν)
ἀπογρ(αφαῖς) τῇ τε τοῦ διεληλ(υθότος) ιδ (ἔτους) καὶ τῇ τοῦ κγ (ἔτους) καὶ θ (ἔτους) θεοῦ Αἰλίου
Ἀντωνίνο(υ) κα[τ' οἰ]κί(αν) ἀ[π]ογρ(αφαῖς) ἐπὶ τοῦ προκ(ειμένου) ἀμφό(δου) Μακεδόνω(ν)
σκλ̣[. . .] . ε̣ι̣ . . ενλ[. .]μ̣ .[. τ]οῦ ιδ (ἔτους) τὸν ἐπικρινό(μενόν) μ[ου] υἱὸν
ω . . . . ο̣λ̣ω̣ . τθ( ) καὶ κ̣[α]τ̣ὰ δημοσίαν συν̣ . . σ̣ . [. . .] τῷ δ (ἔτει)
[μ]η(νὶ) Παχών, ἡ δ̣ὲ̣ Σαραπιὰς ἀπεγρ(άφη) ἐν μ[.] . τ̣[. . . . .]σ̣ι( ) κατ' οἰκ(ίαν)
[ἀ]πογρ(αφαῖς) ἐπ' ἀμφό(δου) . . ο̣ν̣[. .] κα̣ὶ τ̣ὸ̣[ν] ἐπικρινόμενόν μου υἱ-
[ὸ]ν̣ Ν̣[ε]μεσ̣ι̣[ανὸν . . .]λ̣ω̣ν̣[
[. .] . . τ̣α̣τ̣ .[
[. . .] . . [
[. . . .] . . [. . .]δρυμ̣[.]τ̣ω̣ . . [
[. . . .] . κ̣ην καὶ ἀν[τ]ίγρ(αφον) ἐπικρίσεως τοῦ [. . (ἔτους)] σ̣ε̣ρ̣[
[. . . . .]νο( ) Θέωνο̣(ς) ἐπικριθ(έντος) ἐν κατοίκ[οις . . .] . [
[. . . .]ασκον δε . . ω̣ν̣ηρεσ( ) ἄνδρ̣α̣ς . ω̣ρ̣μ̣[. . . . . .]ν̣ο( )
[. . . .] Πεκυσίωνος ἀπὸ ἀμφό(δου) Θεσμο̣(φορείου) . . . α . [. . . . .]
[. . . .]ρ̣ο̣ν τὸν καὶ Ἀγαθοδαίμονα Ἀ̣ρ̣τε[μιδώρο]υ̣
[ἀπὸ] ἀμφόδο(υ) Ἀπολλωνίο(υ) Ἱερακίο(υ) καὶ Μ[. . . . .]ν̣
[. . . .]τ̣α̣ τοῦ Ἥρωνο(ς) [ἀπὸ] ἀμφό(δου) . ε . . φρ̣[. . .]υ̣

1st hand] . Πεκυσίωνος ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου Θεσμοφορ[είου
] . τ̣ε̣ι̣ρ̣ίζω τὸν ἐπικρ̣ινόμ[ενον

10. l. ὑμῶν.

3. ἐπικρι[ταῖς: the title ἐπικριτής does not appear to occur elsewhere, except perhaps in B. G. U. 562. 15, πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίσει being the usual periphrasis.

5. κατοικον . . . must be a mistake for κατοίκου . . . or κατοικοῦντος; cf. 8, where the mother of the boy who is to be 'selected' is described as θυγάτηρ κατοίκων, and 25, where the phrase ἐπικριθεὶς ἐν κατοίκοις occurs. That in the Fayûm the ultimate ground of applications for ἐπίκρισις was, in most cases at least, descent from κάτοικοι, was already known; but this is the first actual application in which that fact is made apparent in the phraseology.

6. ἀποπεπλεγμένης: so B. G. U. 118, II. 11 τοῦ γενομένου καὶ ἀποπεπλεγμένου μου ἀνδρός.

9. προσβεβηκ(ότος): the writer omits to state the age which his son had reached, but the regular age of candidates for ἐπίκρισις was about fourteen, at which time they became liable to poll-tax, e. g. Gr. Pap. II. xlix. 5 προσβ(άντος) εἰς ιδ (ἔτος); cf. B. G. U. 324. 9–10. In papyri from Oxyrhynchus another set of phrases occurs, προσβαινόντων εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ γυμνασίου (Ox. Pap. II. 257. 5), προσβεβηκότων εἰς τρισκαιδεκαέτεις (258. 6).

13. ταῖς κατὰ καιρὸν κ.τ.λ.: so B. G. U. 324. 13, Pap. Gen. I. 18. 13.

24. Cf. B. G. U. 324. 18 συνπαρεθέμην δὲ καὶ ἀντίγραφον ἐπικρίσεως. It is tempting to read συνπαρεθέμην at the beginning of this line, but the letter before ην appears to be κ not μ.

32. ι in this line appears to be written in a very peculiar manner—an up-stroke with a dot at the top, rather resembling a mark of abbreviation.

XXVIII. Notice of Birth.

Harit. 12·6 × 11·7 *cm.* A.D. 150–1.

Notice addressed to the scribes of the metropolis by Ischyras and his wife Thaisarion of the birth of their son, who at the time of this announcement was one year old. Similar notices of birth are B. G. U. 28, 110, 111; Pap. Gen. II. 33. Wilcken (*Ost.* I. pp. 451–4) considers that their purpose was a military one, on the ground that the taxes were sufficiently secured by the fourteen-year census, and that only births of boys and not also of girls were thus announced. But the latter argument, as Kenyon has pointed out (*Class. Rev.* April, 1900, p. 172), loses its weight if, as is now most probable, women were not liable to the poll-tax. For the present, therefore, the exact object served by these notifications remains uncertain. We cannot agree with Wilcken in thinking that they were made from time to time in consequence of a general order issued by the government, for in that case the common formula κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα would hardly have been so consistently omitted.

Σωκράτῃ καὶ Διδύμῳ τῷ καὶ Τυράννῳ
γραμματεῦσι μητροπόλεως

παρὰ Ἰσχυρᾶτος τοῦ Πρωτᾶ τοῦ Μύσθου [μ]ητρὸς Τασουχαρίου τῆς Διδᾶ ἀπ[ὸ ἀ]μ-φόδου Ἑρμουθιακῆς καὶ τῆς τούτου γυ-ναικὸς Θαισαρίου τῆς Ἀμμωνίου [τ]οῦ Μύσθου μητρὸς Θαισᾶτος ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφόδου Ἑρμουθιακῆς. ἀπογραφόμεθα τὸν γεννηθέντα ἡμεῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων υἱὸν Ἰσχυρᾶ[ν] καὶ ὄντα εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ιδ (ἔτος) Ἀντωνείνο(υ) Κα[ί]σαρος τοῦ κυρίου (ἔτους) α· διὸ ἐπιδίδωμ[ι] τὸ τῆς ἐπιγενήσεως ὑπόμνημα.

[Ἰσχυρ]ᾶς (ἐτῶν) μδ ἄσημος.

Θαισάριον (ἐτῶν) κδ ἄσημος.

ἔγραψ[ε]ν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἀμμώνιος νομογ(ράφος).

'To Socrates and Didymus also called Tyrannus, scribes of the metropolis, from Ischyras, son of Protas, son of Mysthes, his mother being Tasoucharion, daughter of Didas, of the quarter Hermuthiace, and from his wife Thaisarion, daughter of Ammonius, son of Mysthes, her mother being Thaisas, of the same quarter Hermuthiace. We give notice of the son who has been born to us, Ischyras, aged one year in the present fourteenth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. I therefore hand in this announcement of the birth. (Signed) Ischyras, aged 44, having no distinguishing mark. Thaisarion, aged 24, having no distinguishing mark. Written for them by Ammonius, scribe of the nome.'

2. γραμματεῦσι μητροπόλεως: cf. xxvi. 2.

11. (ἔτους) α: in the other examples the announcement was not made so soon after the birth as in this case. In the three Berlin papyri the boys are respectively aged two, four, and seven; in the Geneva papyrus the age is four.

15. νομογ(ράφος): cf. xxiv. 19.

XXIX. Notice of Death.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 28·7 × 8·3 *cm.* A.D. 37.

This and the following papyrus (xxx) are announcements of death sent respectively to the village scribe and the scribes of the metropolis by relatives of the deceased person. The two declarations follow the same general formula as that of the similar documents already published, e.g. Ox. Pap. I. 79, B. G. U. 17, 79, 254.

Ἡρακλείδῃ κωμογραμμ[α(τεῖ)
Εὐημερίας
παρὰ Μύσθου τοῦ Πενε-
ουήρεως τῶν ἀπ[ὸ Εὐ]η-
μερίας τῆ[ς] Θεμίστου
μερίδ[ο]ς. ὁ ἀδ[ε]λ(φὸς) Πενεοῦρις
Πενεούρεως λαογραφού-
μενος περ[ὶ τ]ὴ[ν] προκιμέ-
νην κώμην τετελεύτη-
κεν ἐν τῷ Μεσ[ο]ρὴ μην[ὶ
τοῦ πρώτο[υ] (ἔτους) Γαίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ· δ[ιὸ] ἐ[π]ιδί-
δημί σοι τὸ ὑπόμνη[μ]α
ὅπως ταγῆι τ̣ο̣ῦ̣[τον] ὄ̣ν̣[ο]μ̣α̣
ἐν τῆι τῶν [τετ]ελευτη-
κότων τάξ[ει κατὰ] τ̣ὸ̣ ἔ̣[θ]ος.
[Μύσθης Πενεούρεως]
ὡς (ἐτῶν) μβ οὐ[λ(ὴ)] πήχ(ει) δεξιῷ
υ̣ . . ω .
(ἔτους) α Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ, Μεσ[ο]ρὴ ι̣δ̣.
2nd hand . . . . (ἔτους) [α]
Γα[ίο]υ Καίσαρος
[Σ]εβαστοῦ Γερμανικ[ο]ῦ,
Μεσορὴ ιδ.

14. l. ἐ[π]ιδίδωμι.

'To Heraclides, village-scribe of Euhemeria, from Mysthes, son of Peneouris, of Euhemeria in the division of Themistes. My brother Peneouris, registered as an inhabitant of the neighbourhood of the said village, has died in the month Mesore of the first year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. I therefore present to you this notice in order that his name may be placed upon the list of deceased persons, according to custom. (Signed) Mysthes, son of Peneouris, aged about forty-two years, having a scar on the right fore-arm.' Date and counter-signature.

23. The illegible beginning of the line is the signature of an official (cf. xxx. 16), but apparently not that of Heraclides.

XXX. NOTICE OF DEATH.

Harît. 23 × 7 *cm*. A.D. 173.

Announcement of the death of Aphrodisius, addressed to the scribes of the metropolis by his father Pantonymus. Cf. the preceding papyrus.

Κρονίῳ τῷ καὶ Ἡρα[κ(λείδῃ)
καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γρ(αμματεῦσι) μητροπ(όλεως)
παρὰ Παντωνύμου
Ἀφροδισίου τῶν ἀπὸ
τῆς μητροπ(όλεως) ἀναγρ(αφομένου) ἐ-
π' ἀμφόδου Λυσανίου

Τόπων. ὁ υἱός μου
Ἀφ[ρ]οδίσιος μητ(ρὸς) Σαρα-
πιάδος ἀναγρ(αφόμενος) ἐπὶ τοῦ
προκ(ειμένου) ἀμφόδ(ου) Λυσ(ανίου) Τόπ(ων)
ἐτελ(εύτησε) τῷ Παῦνι μη-
νὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
ια (ἔτους)· διὸ ἀξιῶ ταγῆναι
αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομ(α) ἐν τῇ τῶν
τετελ(ευτηκότων) τάξι.
2nd hand *κατεχω(ρίσθη) γρ(αμματεῦσι) μητροπ(όλεως)*
περὶ τελ(ευτῆς) [Ἀ]φροδισίου.
(ἔτους) ια Αὐρη[λ]ίου Ἀντωνίνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρί[ο]υ, Ἐπεὶφ ι.

'To Cronius, also called Heraclides, and Alexander, scribes of the metropolis, from Pantonymus, son of Aphrodisius, of the metropolis, registered in the quarter of Lysanias' District. My son Aphrodisius by Sarapias, registered in the said quarter of Lysanias' District, died in the month Pauni of the present eleventh year. I therefore request that his name be placed on the list of deceased persons. (Signed) Notification was made to the scribes of the metropolis concerning the death of Aphrodisius. The eleventh year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, Epeiph 10.'

13, 14. Cf. B. G. U. 254. 18, 19, where no doubt α[ὐτοῦ τὸ ὄν]ομ(α) should be read in place of α[ὔτον ἐπὶ τῶν] ὁμ(οίων).

XXXI. Transfer of Property.

Harit. 19 × 9·7 *cm.* About A.D. 129.

Notification to Dionysius and Theon, keepers of the archives at Arsinoë, from a woman named Apia (?), stating that she wished to sell some house property, and requesting that an authorization to complete the contract should be sent to the record office at Theadelphia, where she herself lived. We now know from Ox. Pap. II. 237 that these preliminary notices in the case of alienations of real property were made obligatory by a decree of Mettius Rufus in A.D. 89, and were intended on the one hand to secure that all changes of ownership might be duly recorded and the public registers of real property be kept up to date, and on the other to protect contracting parties from fraud.

The date of this papyrus is supplied by a comparison of Brit. Mus. Pap. 299, 300, which are similar notices addressed to the same pair of officials, with

the property returns of A.D. 131 (e.g. xxxii), by which year they had retired from office.

1st hand [. . .]κρ[. .] σεσ[η(μείωμαι) ι .] (ἔτους), Μεσ[ο(ρή).
2nd hand [Δ]ιονυσίωι καὶ Θέωνι γε[γυ(μνασιαρχηκόσι)
βιβλ(ιοφύλαξι) ἐνκτήσεω(ν) Ἀρσι(νοίτου)
παρὰ Ἀπίας τῆς Ἡρᾶτ[ος το]ῦ
Ἡρακλᾶτος ἀπὸ κώμης
Θεαδελφείας Θεμίστου μερίδος, μετὰ
κυρίου τοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς Τανε-
φερῶτος υἱοῦ Τεῶτος τοῦ Σαμβᾶ.
ἀφ' οὗ ἔχωι ἐν ἀπογραφῆι ἡμίσους
δεκάτου μέρους {μέρους} κοινοῦ καὶ
ἀδιαιρέτου οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς πρότερο(ν)
Θέωνος τοῦ καὶ Σωκράτους τοῦ Ἥρωνο(ς)
καὶ ὅλου οἴκου ἐν συνοικ(ίᾳ) ἐν τῆι προκειμένῃ
κώμῃ Θεαδελφείᾳ βούλομαι ἐξοι-
κονομῆσαι πέμπτον μέρος ὅλης
τῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ τοῦ ὅλου
οἴκου Σωκράτηι Διδᾶ τοῦ Σαμβᾶ
ἀπὸ Βιθυνῶν Ἰσίωνος πρωταπογ( )
τιμῆς ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) διακοσίων. διὸ προσ-
αγγέλλωι ὅπως ἐπισταλῆι τῷ τὸ
γραφεῖον Θεαδελφείας συνχρημα-
[τίζ]ειν μοι ὡς καθήκει.

8. υἱου Pap. 10. δεκατου μερους written over an erasure. 13. εν συνοικ added above the line. 18. ϊσιωνος Pap.

'To Dionysius and Theon, ex-gymnasiarchs, keepers of the property registers of the Arsinoite nome, from Apia, daughter of Heras, son of Heraclas, of the village of Theadelphia in the division of Themistes, under the wardship of her sister Tanepheros' son Teos, son of Sambas. Of the property which is registered in my name, namely the half and the tenth part, being common and undivided, of a house and court formerly owned by Theon, also called Socrates, son of Heron, and the whole tenement in a lodging-house in the said village of Theadelphia, I wish to alienate the fifth part of the whole house and court and of the whole tenement to Socrates, son of Didas, son of Sambas, of (the quarter of) the Bithynians of Ision . . . at the price of 200 drachmae of silver. I therefore give notice, in order that instructions may

be sent to the director of the record office of Theadelphia, duly to join me in the transaction of the business.'

1. Similar official signatures occur at the top of the parallel documents Brit Mus. Pap. 299, 300.

10–11. *κοινοῦ καὶ ἀδιαιρέτου*: the meaning of this common phrase is a little obscure. That it is here to be connected with *μέρους*, rather than with *οἰκίας*, is shown by other instances of its use. The designation of a *μέρος* as *κοινὸν καὶ ἀδιαίρετον* implies that the property to which the *μέρος* belonged was not actually divided up into definite sections which were severally appropriated to the owners of the *μέρη*, but that each of these owners had a fixed share in the proceeds of the whole. *κοινοῦ* here could not mean that a second person had a claim to some part of Apia's three-fifths of the house since no such joint owner is mentioned, and she evidently possessed full rights over her own share. The only joint owners implied by *κοινοῦ* are therefore the holders of the remaining two-fifths. Neither can *ἀδιαίρετον* mean indivisible, 'unzertrennlich' as Wessely translates it (C. P. R. I. 4, 8), seeing that a part of the *μέρος ἀδιαίρετον* is here about to be sold.

11–13. *οἰκίας . . . καὶ . . . οἴκου ἐν συνοικ(ίᾳ)*: the distinction between *οἶκος* and *οἰκία*, which is repeated in ll. 16, 17, is noticeable. *οἰκία* is a 'house' in the ordinary sense of the term; *οἶκος* is a separate dwelling or tenement in a large building or *insula*, corresponding to our 'flat.'

15, 16. *πέμπτον μέρος κ.τ.λ.*: Apia wished to sell one-fifth of the *οἰκία* and court of which she owned $\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{10}=\frac{3}{5}$, and one-fifth of the *οἶκος* of which she owned the whole.

18. *πρωταπογ( )*: the word is not found elsewhere, but a phrase that is its apparent antithesis occurs in the similar papyrus Brit. Mus. Pap. 300. 6 sqq., *ἃς ἀπεγραψάμην . . . ἀρούρας τέσσαρας βούλομαι παραχωρῆσαι Ἡρακλείδῃ . . . ἀπογεγρ(αμμένας?) τοῖς προτέροις καθαρὰς κ.τ.λ.* Here it is possible, as with *πρωταπογ( )* in our papyrus, to refer *ἀπογεγρ( )* either to the object about to be transferred or to the person receiving it. In the Brit. Mus. papyrus the former alternative is the more natural, and makes good sense, 'returned on previous occasions as unencumbered' &c. But in our document *πρωταπογ(εγραμμένων)*, referring to *οἰκίας κ.τ.λ.*, comes in very awkwardly between the purchaser and the price, and apparently has to bear the somewhat strained sense of 'returned for the first time *by me*,' since the meaning 'returned for the first time' simply is precluded by the statement (11–12) that the *οἰκία* had had a previous owner who would presumably have registered it. On the other hand to understand *πρωταπογ(εγραμμένῳ)* as referring to the purchaser Socrates, and meaning that the last fourteen-year census was the first in which he had been included, as opposed to *ἀπογεγρ(αμμένῳ) τοῖς προτέροις*, 'entered on several previous census-lists,' is a still less satisfactory interpretation.

XXXII. Property Return.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 12·5 × 8·9 *cm.* A.D. 131.

Return of house property, addressed to Dius and Herodes, keepers of the registers of the nome. ccxvi, which was found with this document and was written by the same hand, is a precisely similar return addressed to these same two officials, Dius and Herodes, as are also B. G. U. 420, 459, and Pap. Gen. II. 27.

Some lacunae in these last three can now be supplemented from the better preserved papyri from Kaṣr el Banât. On the general subject of property returns cf. Ox. Pap. II. 237. Col. viii. 31, note.

1st hand *Ἀσκληπ(ιάδης) σεση(μείωμαι). ιε (ἔτους), Μεσο(ρὴ) η.*
2nd hand *[Δε]ίῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλω(νίῳ) καὶ*
Ἡρώδῃ τῷ καὶ Διογένι
γεγυ(μνασιαρχηκόσι) βιβλ(ιοφύλαξι) ἐνκτ(ήσεων) Ἀρσι(νοΐτου)
παρὰ Σαμβοῦτος τῆς
Πνεφερῶτ(ος) τοῦ Διονυσίου
[τ]ῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Θεαδελ(φείας)
μετὰ κυρίο(υ) τοῦ ὁμοπατρίο(υ)
καὶ ὁμομητρίου ἀδελφοῦ
Ἀλλόθωνος. κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ
κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος κελευσθ(έντα)
ἀπογράφομαι τὸ ὑπάρχον μοι
ἥμισυ μέρος οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς
ὂν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ. ἐὰν δέ τι κατὰ τούτ(ου)
ἐξοικονομῶ πρότερον ἀποδίξω
ὑπάρχειν.

'To Dius, also called Apollonius, and Herodes, also called Diogenes, ex-gymnasiarchs, keepers of the property registers of the Arsinoite nome, from Sambous, daughter of Pnepheros, son of Dionysius, of the village of Theadelphia, under the wardship of her full brother on both the father's and mother's side, Allothon (?). In accordance with the commands of his highness the praefect I return my property, which is the half share of a house and court situated in the village. If I alienate any of my rights over it, I will first establish my title to the ownership.'

1. *Ἀσκληπ(ιάδης)*: Pap. Gen. II. 27 is signed by the same official. The last word of the signature in that papyrus is more probably *Μεσορή* than *Ἀδρι(ανοῦ)*.

3. *Διογένι*: M. Nicole (*loc. cit.*) reads the second name of Herodes as Diomedes, but this is no doubt an oversight.

11. *ἡγεμόνος*: the praefect was Titus Flavius Titianus; cf. B. G. U. 420. 8, 459. 9.

14–15. The same formula appears in ccxvi (with the addition of *διὸ ἐπιδίδ(ωμι) τὴν ἀπογραφήν*), and is also to be restored in B. G. U. 420. 15–17 (l. *αὐτῶν [δέ τι κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξ]οικονομῶ ἀπ[οδείξω ὑπάρ]χοντα*, and with slight variations in Pap. Gen. II. 27. 14–15 (l. *ἐξοικονομῶ* for *α . . . . . .*), and B. G. U. 459. 10. Cf. also B. G. U. 112. 23–5. The sentence merely contains an undertaking to do what the edict of Mettius Rufus had rendered obligatory, namely to procure the authorization of the *βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων* before effecting any alienation of real property; cf. introd. to xxxi.

XXXIII. Return of Unwatered Land.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 22·5 × 11·6 *cm.* A.D. 163.

Return from Ptollarous of Theadelphia, declaring that some land belonging to her at Euhemeria was unwatered in the current third year of Marcus and Verus. Two of the four previously published documents of this class (Gr. Pap. II. lvi, B. G. U. 198) relate to the same year; and the discovery of this third example corroborates our view (Ox. Pap. II. 237. Col. viii. 31, note) that such returns concerning unwatered land were not annual, but only sent in in consequence of a special order of the praefect on occasions of a failure of the inundation.

[Φ]ωκίωνι στρατ[ηγῷ] Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Θεμίστ[ου
καὶ Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδων καὶ
[Λ]εωνίδῃ βασιλ(ικῷ) γραμ(ματεῖ) Θεμίστου
μερίδος καὶ κωμογραμ(ματεῖ)
Εὐημερείας
παρὰ Πτολλαροῦτος τῆς Πτολ(εμαίου) τοῦ
Πτολ(εμαίου) ἀπὸ κώμης Θεαδελφείας
διὰ φροντιστοῦ Διοσκόρου
Ἥρωνος. ἀπογράφομαι κατὰ
τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ τ[ο]ῦ
λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος
τὰς ὑπαρχούσας μοι περὶ κώ-
μην Εὐημερείαν ἠβροχηκυ-
ίης πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστὸς γ (ἔτος)
Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν
κυρίων Σεβαστῶν Ἀρμεν[ι]ακῶν
Μηδικῶν Παρθικῶν Με[γί]στων
(ἀρούρας) β ϛ', αἱ οὖσαι διὰ σωματισμοῦ
εἰς Ταρεῶτιν Ἀκουσιλά[ο]υ.
2nd hand Φωκίων στρ(ατηγὸς) διὰ Ἀλεξάνδ(ρου) βοη(θοῦ) ἐση(μειωσάμην)
Ἐπεὶφ ιϛ. (3rd hand) Λεωνίδης βασιλ(ικὸς) γρ(αμματεὺς) δι[ὰ] Ἁρποκ(ρατίωνος)
βοη(θοῦ) σ̣ε̣σημ(είωμαι).

13. l. ἠβροχηκυίας. There is a stroke in the margin opposite to the termination ηι.
18. l. τὰς οὔσας.

'To Phocion, strategus of the divisions of Themistes and Polemo in the Arsinoite nome, and Leonides, royal scribe of the division of Themistes, and to the village scribe of Euhemeria, from Ptollarous, daughter of Ptolemaeus, son of Ptolemaeus, of the village of Theadelphia, through her representative Dioscorus, son of Heron. In accordance with the commands of his excellency the praefect, I return the 2½ arourae belonging to me at the village of Euhemeria and entered for taxation (?) to Tareotis, son of Acusilaus, as unwatered in the present third year of Antoninus and Verus, the lords Augusti Armeniaci Medici Parthici Maximi.' Signatures of the agents of Phocion and Leonides.

1–5. B. G. U. 139 is similarly addressed to the strategus and the royal scribe of the Ἡρακλείδου μερίς and to the village scribe of Karanis.

11. ἡγεμόνος: i.e. Annius Syriacus; cf. Gr. Pap. lvi. 6, B. G. U. 198. 6.

18–19. οὔσαι διὰ σωματισμοῦ εἰς Ταρεῶτιν: no satisfactory explanation of the term σωματισμός has yet been offered. Wilcken has lately suggested (*Archiv*, I. p. 176), that it signifies the transference (in the public registers) of an object, the ownership of which had changed hands, to the person (σῶμα) of the new proprietor. But he here appears to overlook the fact that in B. G. U. 139 the person who makes the declaration and the person to whom the land is said to be σωματιζόμενος are one and the same, and that both in that document and 198, as in our papyrus here, the person making the return distinctly states that the property is his, or her, own. Clearly then ownership was not affected by the σωματισμός. The only explanation which seems to us to meet the case is that σωματισμός was a matter concerning the taxation of the property. σωματιζόμενος εἴς τινα then means that the person so referred to, in consequence of the land being leased to him or for other reasons, was responsible for the taxes upon it. Responsibility for taxation is frequently the subject of provisions in agreements for the lease of land. Accordingly in B. G. U. 139 the person making the declaration pays the taxes upon the land in question; in 198 and in our papyrus some one else, who is presumably the lessor, pays them. That the owner and not the lessor makes the return is what would be expected from the analogy of other ἀπογραφαί of property. This theory perfectly suits Ox. Pap. I. 126 (A.D. 572), a notification from a daughter that she would be responsible for certain taxes previously paid by her father, which is entitled ἐπίσταλμα τοῦ σωματισμοῦ, and B. G. U. 141, where a list of amounts payable from various estates is called σωματισμὸς κατ' ἄνδρα ἀργυρικῶν. Ox. Pap. II. 267. 18–19 ἐν δὲ τοῖς προκειμένοις οὐκ ἔνεστι σωματ(ισμός)· ἀξιοῦμεν ὡς καθήκ(ε)ι still remains obscure. It is quite possible that that agreement, which is a composition on account of certain claims against an estate, affected the liability for taxes of the parties concerned, and that this is the point of the passage. But it is not at all certain that the object to be understood after ἀξιοῦμεν is σωματισμόν, and in that case the meaning may be:—'The foregoing agreement does not alter our respective responsibility for taxation.'

XXXIV. Delegation of Tax-Collecting.

Harit. 22·5 × 10·5 *cm.* A.D. 161.

Agreement between Heron, an inhabitant of Philagris, and two βοηθοὶ γεωργῶν (cf. note on 3), by which Heron undertakes to act as a substitute for them, and to collect certain taxes on domain (?) land at the village of Polydeucia,

cultivated by inhabitants of Philagris. Cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. 255, an acknowledgement given to a person called Horion by the πρεσβύτεροι of a village, stating that he had collected certain taxes as their deputy in a satisfactory manner; and 306, which is a grant by a πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν of his office to a deputy, to whom he promises a salary of 252 drachmae; and xxxiii, a receipt for the salary of two deputy πράκτορες. Here there is no question of a salary, but on the contrary the deputy promises to pay 560 drachmae. Probably therefore he expected to collect more than that sum, and the contract amounts to the sub-letting of a tax by the tax-collectors. If so the present document offers a curious mixture of the two modes of collecting taxes: (*a*) the direct method through official πράκτορες, and (*b*) the indirect, through tax-farmers. The 560 drachmae were to be paid in five monthly instalments during the last five months of the year. Whether that sum covered the whole amount due for the year or only the dues of the last five months is left obscure. An allowance was to be made to the deputy for the sum collected before the date of the contract (Pauni 9), but it is not stated whether the starting-point was the beginning of the official year or the month Pharmouthi, when the first instalment was to be paid. On general grounds and the analogy of Brit. Mus. Pap. 306 it is probable that the 560 drachmae represented the sum payable to the βοηθοί for the taxes of the whole year, especially as the deputy had apparently acted in a similar capacity for several years previously (9–10 κατὰ τὴν τῶν προτέρων ἐτῶν συνήθειαν).

Ἥρων Ἥρωνος ἀπὸ κώμης Φιλαγρίδος Πανεσνῖ Ὥρου καὶ Μάρωνι Ἀπολλωνίου βοηθοῖς γεωργῶν κώμης Πολυδευκείας. ὁμολογῶ κατὰ τότε τ[ὸ χ]ιρόγ[ραφον ἀνθ᾽ ὑμῶν τὴν εἴσπραξιν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἐκδῶναι σύμβολα μονοδεσμίας χόρτου καὶ ἄλλων εἰδῶν νομαρχίας τῶν ἐπιμερισθεισῶν ὑμεῖν Πολυδευκείας διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαγρίδος ἐν Πάλῃ (ἀρουρῶν) υια d̄ ηλβξδ κατὰ τὴν τῶν προτέρων ἐτῶν συνήθειαν ἐ[μ]οῦ τοῦ Ἥρωνος διαγράφιν ὑμεῖν τοῖ[ς] περὶ τὸν Πανεσνέα σύνπαντι λόγῳ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἑξήκοντα, / (δραχμαὶ) φξ, κατὰ μῆνα τὸ αἱροῦν ἐξ ἴσου

ἀπὸ μηνὸς Φαρμοῦθι ἕως μηνὸς Μεσορὴ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος α (ἔτους), ὑμῶν παραδεχομένων μοι τὰ διαγραφέντα ὑπὸ τῶν προκειμένων γεωργῶν μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας. Ἥρων ὁ προγεγρα(μμένος) ἔγραψα τὸ σῶμα καὶ συνεθέμην πᾶσι τοῖς προκειμένοις καθὼς πρόκειται. ἔτους πρώτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλ[ίο]υ Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος [Καί]σαρος Λουκίου Αὐλῃρίου Οὐήρου Σεβαστοῦ, Παῦνι θ.

On the *verso*

συστατικὸν τοῦ μέρους τῆς Φιλαγρίδ(ος) πρὸς Ἥρωνα.

4. l. *τόδε*. 5. l. *ἐκδοῦναι*. 7. *ει* of *-θεισων* corr. 8. *υ* of *υμειν* corr. 11. l. *διαγράφοντος*. 16. *υ* of *υμων* corr. 25. l. *Αὐρηλίου*.

'Heron, son of Heron, of the village of Philagris, to Panesneus, son of Horus, and Maron, son of Apollonius, assistants in connexion with taxes upon cultivators at the village of Polydeucia. I agree in accordance with this note of hand as your deputy to make the collection of, and to issue receipts for, the *μονοδεσμία* of hay and other taxes of the nomarchy on the $411\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{8}\ \frac{1}{32}\ \frac{1}{64}$ arourae assigned to you at Polydeucia, and cultivated by inhabitants of Philagris in Pale (?), on the terms that, following the custom of former years, I, Heron, shall pay to you, Panesneus and partners, on the whole account five hundred and sixty drachmae of silver, total 560 dr., in equal monthly instalments from the month of Pharmouthi to the month of Mesore of the present first year, and that you shall make me an allowance for the sums paid by the aforesaid cultivators up to the present day. I, Heron, the above mentioned, have written the body of the contract and agreed to all the aforesaid terms as is aforesaid. The first year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and the Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus, Pauni 9. (Endorsed) Contract for deputing the share of Philagris to Heron.'

3. *βοηθοῖς γεωργῶν*: *βοηθοί* are known as assistants of the *πράκτορες* (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 618), and very likely tax-farmers too had *βοηθοί*; but the *γεωργοί* here are clearly the tax-payers (cf. 18), not the tax-collectors, and the *βοηθοί* are really assistants either of the nomarch, who was responsible for the *μονοδεσμία χόρτου* (Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 388), or of the *πρεσβύτεροι* who appear in B. G. U. 334, 431, and 711 as actually collecting that tax. The genitive *γεωργῶν*, therefore, depends only loosely on *βοηθοῖς*, 'assistants in connexion

with γεωργοί,' i.e. with taxes paid by γεωργοί; cf. B. G. U. 221, where a tax on the fishing industry is collected by a βοηθὸς ἁλιέων on behalf of the nomarch.

The γεωργοί here, as often (e. g. xviii (*a*) 1), seem to be the δημόσιοι γεωργοί; cf. 8 διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαγρίδος with lxxxvi. 12, where the persons from Philagris who cultivate land at Polydeucia are δημόσιοι γεωργοί, and see introd. to lxxxi. This view is confirmed by a receipt for μονοδεσμία χόρτου in Lord Amherst's collection, in which the tax-payer is a γεωρ(γός) of the 17th κληρ(ουχία), i. e. of βασιλικὴ or δημοσία γῆ.

6. μονοδεσμίας χόρτου: the meaning of this tax in connexion with bundles of hay is obscure. It was always paid in money, and perhaps fell only on δημόσιοι γεωργοί. Possibly the ἄλλα εἴδη which are regularly associated with it are not other taxes, but other kinds of produce on which the μονοδεσμία was exacted.

7. νομαρχίας: the nomarch was particularly concerned with the collection of certain taxes of which the μονοδεσμία χόρτου was one; cf. note on 3.

9. ἐν Πάλῃ: the reading is clear, and none of the known meanings of πάλη suit here; but another proper name is not very satisfactory.

15. Φαρμοῦθι: the contract is dated in Pauni, so nearly half the period had already expired, which is curious, especially if the contract is concerned with the μονοδεσμία χόρτου for the whole year (cf. introd.). The reign of Marcus and Verus only began in Phamenoth (Antoninus died on March 11), but it is not likely that the change of emperors has anything to do with the fact that the payments only take place in the last five months of the year 160–1.

16. παραδεχομένων: i.e. the sums already paid to the βοηθοί were to be subtracted from the 560 drachmae; cf. introd.

XXXV. Receipt for Salary of Deputy Tax-Collectors.

Harit. 21·7 × 15·3 *cm.* A.D. 150–1.

Acknowledgement by two persons to a tax-collector of Theadelphia that they had received from him the sum of 200 drachmae as their 'salary' for acting as his deputy during one year. The receipt is to be compared with xxxiv and Brit. Mus. Pap. 306, by which a tax-collector of Heraclea appoints a deputy for a period of two years at a total salary of 252 drachmae.

Α[. . . . .] . . . . . καὶ Ἅρπαλος Ἡρα[κλείδο]υ
π[. . . . .] . . . ωνι Χαιρήμ[ονος π]ράκ-
το[ρι . . . . κ]ώ[μ]ης Θεαδελφείας.
ἀπέχομ[εν παρὰ] σοῦ [[ἐκ παραδ . . . .]] τὰς συν-
εσταμένας [ἡ]μεῖν ὑπὲρ σαλαρείου . . . [. .] . . . . .
πρακτ[ορ . .] τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιδ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνεί[νου
Καίσαρος [τοῦ] κυρίου ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δια-
κοσίας, / [(δραχμαὶ) Σ], καὶ ἀναδώσομέν σοι τὰς ἀπο-

χὰς τῶν καταχωριζομένων βιβλείων τῆς τάξεως, μένοντος κυρίου τοῦ γενομένου εἰς ἡμᾶς συστατικοῦ. Μύστης ἔγραψα τὰ πλεῖστα.

'A . . . and Harpalus, son of Heraclides, to . . ., son of Chaeremon, collector of the . . . tax of the village Theadelphia. We have received from you the sum agreed upon as our salary [as your deputies] for the present 14th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, namely two hundred drachmae of silver, total 200 dr.; and we will render to you the receipts among the documents for registration concerning the tax, the agreement of appointment made with us remaining valid. (Signed) Written for the most part by me, Mystes.'

1. The first letter of the line is possibly *μ*, and Μ[ύστης might be restored; cf. 11.

5–6. After *σαλαρίου* something like *τῆς ἀντὶ σοῦ πρακτ[ορείας]* is expected. The papyrus at the end of lines 4–6 is much rubbed; the last four letters of 5 look more like *μιων* than anything else.

8–10. Cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. 306. 15–16 *ἔτι δὲ κα[ὶ κ]αταχωρεῖ ὁ Σαταβοῦς* (the deputy) *τὰ τῆς τάξεως β[ι]βλία ταῖς ἐξ ἔθους προθεσμίαις*, and Gr. Pap. II. xli. 16 sqq. The *καταχωριζόμενα βιβλία* are in our papyrus further specified as the *ἀποχαί*. The meaning is that the agents were to present their books for official inspection.

10–11. *τοῦ . . . συστατικοῦ*: i.e. the agreement, of which Brit. Mus. Pap. 306 may be taken as a specimen, by which Harpalus and his fellow-deputy were appointed to act for the *πράκτωρ*.

11–12. There is no apparent change of hand in the papyrus, which is therefore presumably a copy of the original.

XXXVI. Lease of a Monopoly.

Harit. 15·5 × 9·5 *cm*. A.D. 111–2.

An undertaking on the part of a certain Sanesneus to pay 80 drachmae, with various extra sums, to the 'superintendents of brick-making in the nome,' in consideration of his having been granted for one year the right to make and sell bricks at the village of Kerkethoëris, with power to hand on his rights to others.

The present papyrus is one of a small group of documents which so closely resemble each other in formula that it is difficult not to explain all of them in the same way. The first of these to be published was our Gr. Pap. II. xli, in which the concession requested was apparently the *ἑταρίσματα* (*sic*) of a village, and the *φόρος* 288 drachmae. We explained that papyrus as an undertaking by a tax-farmer to pay the sum mentioned for the right of collecting the tax upon *ἑταῖραι*, and in this we were followed by Wilcken, who discusses the

document at length in his chapter on *Die Steuerpacht in der Kaiserzeit* (*Ost.* I. pp. 587 sqq.). The next papyrus with a similar formula to be published was Brit. Mus. Pap. 286, a proposal addressed to the priests of Socnopaei Nesus by two *γναφεῖς* to lease the *γναφική* of that village and of Nilopolis for a *φόρος* of 240 drachmae. This was interpreted by Kenyon (*Cat.* II. p. 183) as a lease of a monopoly of the *γναφική* or laundry work. Wilcken, however (*Archiv*, I. p. 156), comparing Gr. Pap. II. xli and a Berlin papyrus (B. G. U. 337), which shows that the priests of Socnopaei Nesus were responsible for the raising of the tax called *γναφέων* or *γναφική*, explained the British Museum papyrus as a proposal for the farming of the tax upon the trade of a *γναφεύς*, and this view has now been accepted by Kenyon (*Class. Rev.* xiv. p. 171).

The third instance is a papyrus in Lord Amherst's collection, which we hope to publish next year. It is addressed to the nomarch, and begins *βούλομαι ἐπιχωρηθῆναι . . . κοτυλίζειν πᾶν ἔλαιον ἐν ἐργαστηρίῳ ἑνὶ ἐν κώμῃ Ἡρακλείᾳ . . . καὶ τελέσ⟨ε⟩ιν εἰς τὸν τῆς ὠν[ῆς φόρ]ον* (or *λόγ]ον*). . . . The fourth instance is the present document. xciii, a proposal for the lease of a perfumery business, perhaps belongs to the same group, but since the lessor there is not an official, the transaction may be a private one. The discovery of these new documents throws doubt upon the current explanation of Brit. Mus. Pap. 286, and even of Gr. Pap. II. xli. *ἐπιχωρηθείσης . . . τῆς πλινθοποιίας* cannot mean the concession of the tax upon brick-making, i.e. the farming of a tax, nor, so far as we can see, anything but the concession of the right to make bricks, i.e. the lease of a monopoly. In the Amherst papyrus, which is concerned with the right 'to retail all the oil in one factory at Heraclea,' it is even clearer that no question of farming a tax is admissible. Turning from these two instances, where the exercise of a trade is the subject of concession (cf. xciii), to the three ambiguous terms, *πλινθοπωλική* here, *γναφική* in Brit. Mus. Pap. 286, and *ἑτα⟨ι⟩ρίσματα* in Gr. Pap. II. xli, it is very difficult, if not impossible, seeing that the *πλινθοπωλική* is granted together with the *πλινθοποιία*, to suppose that the subject of the concession here was a tax upon a trade and not the trade itself. Unless, therefore, we are prepared to draw what seems an arbitrary distinction between the *πλινθοπωλική* and the *πλινθοποιία*, we must explain the former as 'the selling of bricks,' not as 'the tax upon the selling of bricks.' Following the analogy of this papyrus we prefer to regard the *γναφική* conceded in Brit. Mus. Pap. 286 as the trade of a *γναφεύς*, not the tax upon *γναφεῖς*. The fact too that the *γναφική* was conceded to persons who were themselves *γναφεῖς* is more intelligible on this view. Gr. Pap. II. xli is more difficult to reconcile with the idea of a monopoly, though so far as the obscure word *ἑτα⟨ι⟩ρίσματα* goes, it might mean the trade of a *leno* as well as the tax on *ἑταῖραι*. But the passage

(16–21 in that papyrus) concerning the *καταχωρισμὸς βιβλίων* recalls the arrangements in agreements for deputing the *πρακτορεία* of a tax (Brit. Mus. Pap. 306. 15 sqq., xxxv. 8–10), and is less suitable to the accounts of a monopolist. Therefore, in spite of the difficulty of explaining Gr. Pap. II. xli and xxxvi here on different hypotheses, we are not at present prepared to abandon the current theory of the former document[1].

The conclusion that we should draw from xxxvi and Brit. Mus. Pap. 286 is that in certain villages in the Fayûm the right of making and selling bricks, and of exercising the profession of a *γναφεύς*, was a monopoly granted to the highest bidder for the concession. That the price paid for the lease was the subject not of a private agreement between the government and the lessee but of an auction appears from xxxvi. 18, where the *κηρυκικά* are mentioned. In this respect the terms of these undertakings resemble the leasing of a tax, and it is also noticeable that the nomarch and *ἐπιτηρηταί* are officials who were largely concerned with the farming of taxes. It is not improbable that the lessees of the monopolies were called *μισθωταί*, but this does not alter the wide division which separates their position from that of ordinary farmers of a tax.

While much is known about the system of government monopolies in matters of trade during the Ptolemaic period from the third part of the Revenue Papyrus which deals with the oil monopoly, for the Roman period we have no corresponding information, and the subject is extremely obscure. Wilcken (*ibid.* p. 190) is inclined to think that the government control of the oil manufacture continued into Byzantine times; but to this there are grave objections (cf. introd. to xcv), and no evidence has yet been produced for the existence in the Roman period of monopolies in the form of the Ptolemaic oil monopoly. The monopolies with which we are here concerned are in any case something quite different, and seem to be more of the nature of a tax upon the exercise of certain trades. Taken by themselves the monopolies implied in these two papyri need not surprise us. But when we attempt to combine their evidence with the rest of our information about the taxes on trades, we are confronted by several difficulties. Are the sums paid for these monopolies an additional tax over and above those paid for the *χειρωνάξιον* by the members of different professions (cf. Wilcken, *ibid.* pp. 321 sqq.)? For the *γναφική*, there is but one instance of a recorded payment (Wilcken, *ibid.* II. no. 1487, provenance unknown), which seems to be at the rate of 24 drachmae a year, and parallel to other fixed taxes upon trades; and so far as it goes it is an argument for taking *γναφική* in Brit. Mus. Pap. 286 as a tax. But owing to the diversity

[1] In line 27 read *καμινι* γ (so Mr. Smyly), i.e. *καμίνους* γ. The fact that the lessee is to have three *κάμινοι* is another argument for supposing that the concession is not a tax.

which undoubtedly prevailed between the systems of collecting taxes in different nomes, and the insufficient information afforded by a single ostracon, it is impossible to connect the ostracon with Brit. Mus. Pap. 286 with any certainty. As for taxes on brick-making, there are a few Theban ostraca (Wilcken, *ibid.* nos. 512, 572, 592, 1421) which mention payments ὑπὲρ πλινθ( ), in one case reckoned upon the aroura, but these may have nothing to do with the πλινθοποιία and πλινθοπωλική of xxxvi. The evidence of the ostraca is at present too scanty to form a basis of comparison, especially since none of them come from the Fayûm. But it is not in itself at all likely that the lessees of the monopoly of a trade should have to pay the tax on that particular trade as well. The monopoly is rather to be looked upon as a peculiar substitute for the χειρωνάξιον in certain places, probably for the most part villages, and affecting only a very limited number of trades. Its existence is not to be inferred except where direct evidence for it is forthcoming.

Κερκεθοήρεως (δραχμαὶ) π.

2nd hand Φίλωνι καὶ Σαβείνωι ἐπιτηρηταῖς

πλίνθου νομοῦ

παρὰ Σανεσνέως τοῦ Ὀρσεῦτος τῶν ἀπὸ κώ-μης Ναρμούθεως Πολέμωνος μερίδο(ς). ἐπιχωρηθείσης μοι πρὸς μόνον τὸ ἐνεστὸς πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νερούα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ τῆς πλιν-θοποιίας καὶ πλινθοπωλικῆς καὶ ἑτέροις ἐπιχωρηθεὶς διδόναι κώμης Κερκεθοήρεως τῆς αὐτῆς μερίδος καὶ τῶν ταύτης ἐποι-κίων καὶ πεδίων, ὑφίσταμαι τε-λέσειν φόρον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τῶν τούτων προσ-διαγραφομένων καὶ ἑκατοστῶν καὶ κηρυκικῶν, ὧν καὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ποιήσομαι κατὰ μῆνα ἀπὸ μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ ἕως Καισαρείου ἐξ ἴσου, ἐὰν φαίνηται ἐπιχωρῆσαι.

Σανεσνεὺς (ἐτῶν) ξ ο(ὐλὴ) γόνατι ἀριστ(ερῷ).
Κάστωρ νομογράφος εἰκόνικα
φαμένου μὴ εἰδέναι γράμματα.
. . . . . .

9. πλινθοποιίας Pap. 16. l. τὰ τούτων προσδιαγραφόμενα καὶ ἑκατοστὰς καὶ κηρυκικά.

'To Philo and Sabinus, superintendents of bricks of the nome, from Sanesneus, son of Orseus, of the village of Narmouthis in the division of Polemo. If I receive the concession for the present year only, the 15th of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, for the making and selling of bricks, with power to pass on the right to others, in the village of Kerkethoëris in the same division with its farmsteads and plains, I undertake to pay as rent eighty drachmae of silver and the extra payments, hundredths, and auction expenses, which sum I will pay in equal monthly instalments from Sebastus to Caesareus, if you consent to the concession. Sanesneus, aged 60, having a scar on the left knee. I, Castor, scribe of the nome, have drawn up this deed, since Sanesneus stated that he was unable to write.'

3. νομοῦ: τοῦ νομοῦ would have been expected, unless indeed νομοῦ here means not 'nome' but 'distribution,' as in Rev. Pap. XLIII. 3.

17. On ἑκατοσταί cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 364. In B. G. U. 156. 8 a soldier buying domain land pays, in addition to the τιμή, ὑπὲρ ἑκατοστῶν τεσσάρων. Similar extra payments from the lessee are also found in Gr. Pap. II. xli. 13.

23. νομογράφος: cf. note on xxiv. 19.

εἰκόνικα: cf. Ox. Pap. I. 34. I. 12, and Mitteis' remarks in *Hermes*, xxxiii. p. 97. Here it means nothing more than ἔγραψα.

XXXVII. Warrant for Arrest.

Kôm Ushîm. Gizeh Inv. no. 10235. 5·9 × 22 *cm.* Third century.

Order addressed to the ἀρχέφοδος of Psenuris (cf. p. 14), probably by a military officer, for the arrest of a person called Emes; cf. xxxviii, Ox. Pap. I. 64 &c. As usual in these notices to the ἀρχέφοδος, the writing is on the vertical fibres.

Ἀρχεφόδῳ κώμ[ης] Ψενύρ[ε]ως. ἀνάπεμψον Ἔμην ἐνκαλούμε-
νον ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Νεῖλου βουλευτοῦ ἐξαυτῆς.
ἔ[σ]τιν Β[ακχ]ύλος ἐν συνοικίᾳ Πτολεμείνου.

On the *verso*

Ψενῦριν.

2. ὑπο Pap.

'To the chief of police at the village of Psenuris. Send up Emes, who is accused by Aurelius Nilus, councillor, at once. Bacchylus is at the lodging-house (?) of Ptoleminus.' (Address) 'To Psenuris.'

3. *συνοικίᾳ*: cf. note on xxxi. 13.

XXXVIII. Notice from a Centurion.

Kaṣr el Banât. 12 × 10·2 *cm*. Late third or fourth century.

Order from a centurion to the elders of a village called Taurinus concerning the appointment of a watch. The centurion's handwriting has strongly marked Latin characteristics, like Ox. Pap. I. 122. As in that papyrus the rough breathing occurs. At the end is a word or two in Latin, the meaning of which is obscure.

Παρ(ὰ) Δο[μ]ιττίου Ἀννιανοῦ (ἑκατοντάρχου).
φροντίσατε ἐξαυτῆς
τὴν συνήθη παρα-
φυλακὴν γείνεσθαι
ἀπὸ τοῦ μαγδώλου ὑμῶν
ἕως τῶν ὁρίων ἐποι-
κίου λεγομένου Ἀμμίνου.
⟦*τρι*⟧
[πρεσ]β(υτέροις) καὶ δημοσίοις κώ(μης) Ταυρείνου.
m kaṣṣịles

1. *παρ* Pap. 5. *ὑμων* Pap., so in 6 *ὁριων*.

'From Domitius Annianus, centurion. See that you at once provide the customary guard from your tower as far as the boundaries of the farmstead called that of Amminus. To the elders and officials of the village of Taurinus.'

5. *μαγδώλου*: 'a tower,' from the Hebrew 'Migdol' (Num. xxxiii. 7); cf. B. G. U. 282. 13 *πυργομάγδωλ*. Some of these places of refuge erected in Byzantine and Coptic times are still to be found. A tax for the maintenance of *μαγδῶλα* is mentioned in liv. 13, and a *μαγδωλοφύλαξ* in cviii. 13. Magdola or Magdolos was the name of a Fayûm village.

10. There is a short space between *m* and *kassiles*, which may also be read *kamles*.

XXXIX. Report to a Tax-Farmer.

Harit. 25·9 × 7·3 *cm.* A.D. 183.

Reply from the elders of Theadelphia to the farmer of a tax connected with the temples at the village of *Βουκόλων*, stating, in answer to a question addressed to them by the tax-farmer, who was the person responsible for a certain payment in relation to the tax. The precise nature of this tax, which is called *ἱερο(ῦ) Βουκόλ(ων)*, is obscure. Payments for *ἱεροῦ* or *ἱερᾶς* (sc. *πυροῦ* and *κριθῆς*) are noted in the margins of a number of receipts on ostraca of the second century B.C., but these sums appear to be a percentage subsequently assigned by government officials to the temples, and not a regular tax as such (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 223). Neither is it likely, from the phraseology of the papyrus, that a land tax payable to the *θησαυρὸς ἱερῶν* is meant. Probably *ἱεροῦ* here is a special impost for the benefit of the local temple; cf. xlii (*a*) II. 10, where a tax called *ἱ[ε]ρῶν* is found, and Brit. Mus. Pap. 478, a receipt for payments by a priest to the *μισθωταὶ ἱερ(οῦ) χει(ρισμοῦ)*.

Νίκωνι Ἀρείου μισθωτῇ
τέλους ἱ̣ερο(ῦ) Βουκόλ(ων)
παρὰ Κάστ[ορ]ος Κάστορος καὶ
Ὡρί[ω]ν̣ος Χαιρήμονος καὶ
[Ἥ]ρω̣νος ἀπάτ(ορος) μητρὸς Δι-
δύμης καὶ Νικάνδρου Ὡρι-
γένους δ[ι]ὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
Ὡρ[ι]γένους καὶ Ἰσᾶ Μελανᾶ
καὶ Διοσκόρου Ἥρωνος καὶ Πε-
τεσούχου Διοσκόρου καὶ
Μαλλαῖ Πνεφερῶτος τῶν
ὀκτὼ καὶ τῶν λοιπ(ῶν) πρεσβ(υτέρων)
κώμης Θεαδελφίας.
ἐπιζητοῦ̣ν̣τ̣ί σοι ἐκ τίνος
ἀπαιτεῖται τὸ προκείμενον
ἀπότακτον δηλοῦμεν
ὀφείλειν ἀπαιτεῖσθαι τὸ ἀπό-
τακτον τοῦτο ἐκ Χαιρή-
μονος Ἰεμούθου.

2nd hand *Κάστωρ ἐνδέδωκα.*
3rd hand *Ἥρων συνεπιδέδωκα.*
4th hand *Νίκανδρος διὰ τ[οῦ] πατρὸς*
Ὠριγένους συνεπιδέ[δ]ωκα.
1st hand *Ἰσᾶς Μελανᾶ ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ [οὐ]λ(ὴ) ἀντικ(νημίῳ) ἀριστ(ερῷ).*
Διόσκ(ορος) Ἥρωνος ὡ[ς] (ἐτῶν) [. οὐλ(ὴ)] κανθ(ῷ) δεξ(ιῷ).
Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Διοσκ(όρου) ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ[.] οὐλ(ὴ) δακ(τύλῳ) μικ(ρῷ) χειρ(ός).
Μαλλαῖς Πνεφε(ρῶτος) ὡς (ἐτῶν) κδ ⟨οὐλὴ⟩ ἀντικ(νημίῳ) δε[ξ(ιῷ).
(ἔτους) κγ Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου
Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ, Φαρ(μοῦθι) κη.

6. υ of νικανδρου corr. from ε. 18. υ of τουτο corr. from ν. 23. συν inserted above the line.

'To Nicon, son of Arius, farmer of the temple tax of Boucolon, from Castor, son of Castor, and Horion, son of Chaeremon, and Heron, whose father is unknown, his mother being Didyme, and Nicander, son of Origenes, through his father Origenes, and Isas, son of Melanas, and Dioscorus, son of Heron, and Petesuchus, son of Dioscorus, and Mallais, son of Pnepheros, eight elders, and from the rest of the elders of the village of Theadelphia. In answer to your inquiry, from whom the aforesaid sum is demanded, we declare that this sum should be demanded from Chaeremon, son of Iemouthes.' There follow the signatures of Castor, Heron, and Origenes, and the ages and descriptions of Isas, Dioscorus, Petesuchus, and Mallais, and the date.

2. ἱερο(ῦ) Βουκόλ(ων): the ο of ιερο is slightly raised above the line, but it would still be quite possible, so far as the method of writing goes, to read the expression as a single word ἱεροβουκόλ(ων). The initial ι is also not quite certain. The village called Βουκόλων is known from P. P. II. 28. V. 16, and in Roman times from cclvii and B. G. U. 586. 8.

11–13. A condensed way of saying τῶν ὀκτὼ πρεσβυτέρων κώμης Θ., καὶ παρὰ τῶν λοιπῶν πρεσβ. κώμης Θ. Cf. B. G. U. 64. 3. 835. 4.

14–16. ἐκ τίνος . . . ἀπότακτον seems to be a quotation from the letter of the tax-farmer. ἀπότακτον apparently means the prescribed sum, while προκείμενον refers to a previous statement, not quoted here, in the letter of Nicon. This is less difficult than taking προκείμενον as a loose reference to line 2. It can hardly be supposed that Chaeremon was responsible for the whole of the τέλος.

15. ἀπαιτεῖται: this word may imply that the payment was in arrear or have a quite general meaning; there is a similar ambiguity attaching to the ἀπαιτηταί (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 610). If ἀπαιτεῖται has no reference to arrears, we may perhaps compare the present document with the ἀπαιτήσιμα sent to the πράκτορες by government officials (Wilcken, *ibid.* I. p. 619); cf. introd. to xl.

XL. Taxing List.

Harit. 7·7 × 15·7 *cm.* A.D. 162–3.

In exacting payment of taxes, the collectors were guided by lists issued to them by the government officials, stating the names of the individual tax-payers, the objects taxed, and the sums to be exacted. Such lists were called ἀπαιτήσιμα κατ' ἄνδρα, and instances of them are B. G. U. 175 and 659 (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 619). Besides these, other ἀπαιτήσιμα were issued by the government officials giving the quotas due from different villages, e.g. ccviii. The present document is also called an ἀπαιτήσιμον, being written by the village scribe of Theoxenis and Andromachis, and in the place generally occupied by the name of the tax to be collected we have the phrase 'τελωνικῆς ἀτελείας of the money taxes of the present third year of Marcus and Verus.' At line 7 begins a list of properties, of which the first is said to have become subject to the tax in question during the nineteenth year of an emperor; but the papyrus breaks off before the sentence is complete.

The meaning of the text depends on the explanation of the obscure phrase τελωνικὴ ἀτέλεια. In B. G. U. 199 *verso* 1 a payment ὑπὲρ θυίων καὶ τελωνικῆς ἀτελείας is found amongst a number of other taxes (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* II. no. 1257, where a payment for ἀτέλεια seems to occur). From the context of that passage it would naturally be inferred that τελωνικὴ ἀτέλεια was itself the name of a special impost, and this view, however strange it may appear, is confirmed by lxxxii. 14 where a payment in kind for τελωνικὴ ἀτέλεια upon an οὐσία, i. e. land which had become the private property of the emperor, is made, apparently by the μισθωταί. In the present papyrus the property which was subject to the tax had once belonged to Antonia, the daughter of the Emperor Claudius, and it is probable that here too we are concerned with a tax upon οὐσιακοὶ μισθωταί or γεωργοί. Perhaps Antonia's property had as such been free from taxation, but when it was subsequently incorporated with the οὐσιακὴ γῆ belonging to the reigning emperor, the μισθωταί or γεωργοί who cultivated it had to pay the tax for τελωνικὴ ἀτέλεια; though whether this impost was levied on all cultivators of οὐσιακὴ γῆ as a substitute for certain other taxes, or only upon those who cultivated land which had previously been ἀτελής, is obscure. But perhaps the explanation of this charge for τελωνικὴ ἀτέλεια is to be looked for in the special circumstances of the year 162–3. In that year, as is shown by several returns of ἄβροχος γῆ (cf. introd. to xxxiii), there was a failure of the Nile, and the τελωνικὴ ἀτέλεια may have been a special charge exacted from cultivators of οὐσιακὴ γῆ in lieu of the taxes which were remitted. This view gains some support from B. G. U. 84,

a mutilated document which, so far as can be judged, has several points of connexion with the present papyrus (cf. especially B. G. U. 84. I. 3–4 with xl. 8). In the Berlin papyrus large amounts of ἄβροχος γῆ are mentioned, which are subtracted from the taxable area; and it is not improbable that in xl a similar statement was given of the number of arourae belonging to the οὐσία which were ἄβροχοι, and of which the cultivators were therefore subject to the charge for τελωνικὴ ἀτέλεια. The chief objection to this interpretation is that in lines 7–8 of our papyrus a contrast seems to be drawn between the 19th year when the land in question was made subject to ἀπαίτησις (i. e. presumably the charge for τελωνικὴ ἀτέλεια) and the previous period when the land belonged to Antonia, as if it had then been exempt altogether. But perhaps, if the 19th year is that of Antoninus, the land had been ἄβροχος ever since; or the charge for τελωνικὴ ἀτέλεια, made in the 19th year of the emperor, whoever he was, was being made the basis of the charge for the current year.

In the mutilated left-hand margin of the papyrus are some illegible additions in a different hand. On the *verso* is part of an account.

Παρὰ Μυσθαρίωνος κωμογρ(αμματέως) Θεοξενίδος [καὶ
Ἀνδρομαχίδος.
ἀπαιτήσιμον τελωνικῆς ἀτελ(είας) ἀργυρικῶν [τοῦ
ἐνεστῶτος γ (ἔτους) Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου
[Α]ὐρη[λί]ου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Αὐτ[ο]κράτορος
[Καίσ]αρος Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Σεβαστοῦ. ἔστι [δὲ·
Θεοξενίδος πρότερον Ἀντω[ν]ίας θυγατρὸς θ̣[εοῦ
Κλαυδίου ἤχθησαν εἰς ἀπαίτησιν τῷ ιθ (ἔτει) [. .

. . . .

7. Ἀντω[ν]ίας: the Ἀντωνιανὴ οὐσία, which is mentioned e. g. in lx. 6, not improbably belonged to this Antonia.

8. ἤχθησαν: the subject is nearly certainly ἄρουραι; cf. B. G. U. 84, I. 4, 11.

XLI. TAX-COLLECTORS' RETURN.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 22·4 x 12·7 *cm.* A.D. 186.

Every month the tax-collectors had to send in to the strategus two accounts of their receipts, one giving a list of the individual payments, the other stating only the total receipts for each tax. Instances of both kinds of ὑπομνήματα are

extant, e.g. B. G. U. 41 and 42 and in the present volume xli, xlii, ccxxxix, and ccxciii (cf. xlii *a*). Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 622) thinks that in all these cases the collectors reported the amounts which they had themselves paid over to the δημοσία τράπεζα, apparently taking ἡμῖν in the commonly recurring phrase of these documents, τῶν διαγεγραμμένων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν, as equivalent to ὑφ' ἡμῶν.

The present papyrus is an example of the second class of ὑπομνήματα, those in which only the totals are given. Apart from the interesting questions concerning the taxes mentioned in it, which will be discussed later, the formula calls for some notice, since a contrast appears to be drawn between the sums διαγεγραμμένων ἡμῖν in I. 6 and II. 6 and those paid ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν in I. 17 and II. 16, which are subsequently added together in I. 19 and II. 18. It is also noticeable that in several other ὑπομνήματα from the πράκτορες to the strategus, e.g. ccxxxix, B. G. U. 199, 392, Gr. Pap. II. lxii (*a*), there is no mention of the δημοσία τράπεζα, but the sums are paid (διαγεγραμμένα) ἡμῖν simply. In those instances the dative after διαγεγραμμένα would more naturally mean 'to us' than 'by us.' Putting together these facts about the ὑπομνήματα of the πράκτορες, a distinction, as it seems to us, is to be drawn between the payments ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν and the payments where the bank is not mentioned. In the former case the tax-payer paid his money direct to the bank to the account of the tax-collector, in the latter he paid it to the πράκτωρ, who no doubt made it over to the δημοσία τράπεζα or other bank appointed (cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. 255. 17–9), though the fact of his doing so is not stated. Under these circumstances we should expect to find that the receipts given to the tax-payers were issued in some cases by the bank, in others by the πράκτορες. Does this view harmonize with the actual receipts as found on Fayûm papyri? Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 69, note 1) thought that the ordinary tax-receipts with the formula διέγραψε διὰ . . . (e.g. xlviii, liv, lv) were issued by the bank. Now, however (*Archiv*, I. p. 141), on the evidence of Brit. Mus. Pap. 451, where the receipt is signed by a πράκτωρ, he thinks that they were issued by the tax-collectors. But the third alternative, that some were issued by the bank and others by the collectors, is equally possible. In some cases two receipts were actually issued to the tax-payer, one by the collectors, the other by the government bank (introd. to lxiv). What proportion the sums paid direct to the bank bore to those paid to the πράκτορες must remain uncertain. In the present document the amount paid to the πράκτορες is the larger, but out of the other published ὑπομνήματα only four (*v. sup.*) fail to mention the bank.

The papyrus contains two returns, the first (Col. I.) giving the amounts received on account of the months Mecheir and Phamenoth, and dated in

Pharmouthi; the second (Col. II.) dated a month later, and written in the same hand, referring to payments on account of Pharmouthi. The formula is practically identical in both, except that in II. 12 a tax occurs which is not mentioned in I. Throughout both columns the names of the taxes are abbreviated thus:—απο^{μ} and ν́ I. 13, II. 13; ϵ) II. 14 and no doubt in I. 15; κο^{λ} I. 16 and II. 14; σ̄ I. 17 and II. 15; ν́ κο' in II. 12. Of these the first can hardly be anything else than ἀπομ(οίρας). On this tax upon vineyards and παράδεισοι much information is provided by the second part of the Revenue Papyrus. Its continued existence in the Roman period is attested by Brit. Mus. Pap. 195, which also shows that it was no longer calculated upon the harvest but on the acreage of the land, and that payment in money had superseded the partial payment in kind permitted by the Ptolemies. ϵ), i.e. ἐπ( ), might be the name of one of several taxes, or even mean ἐπ(ὶ τὸ αὐτό); but the latter signification is unsuitable here, for ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό is used for adding up previously mentioned sums, not for introducing a fresh payment. The resolution ἐπ(αρουρίου) is almost certain for the following reasons:—(1) in cxc the απο^{μ} and κο^{λ} come in connexion with payments for ἐπαρο(ύριον); (2) in Gr. Pap. II. lxv. the ἐπαρούριον (if we adopt Wilcken's correction of our ἐναρούριον[1]) is also coupled with κόλλυβος (cf. ccxviii, cccxli); (3) the ἐπαρούριον was the land-tax upon those kinds of land which were subject to the ἀπόμοιρα and was naturally often paid at the same time (e.g. Wilcken, *Ost.* II nos. 352 and 1234).

ν́ in ν́ κοι (cf. cxc, cxcii–iv) is probably to be explained as ν(αυβίου); see Brit. Mus. Pap. 193, where ν̄ κοι interchanges with ναυ^{β} κοι, and Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. p. 150. He there further conjectures that κοι is for κ(ατ)οί(κων), comparing B. G. U. 342. 10 ἀριθ(μήσεως) κοι with Brit. Mus. Pap. 451. 4 αριθ^{μ} κατυκον (i.e. κατοίκων). This hypothesis gains much support from the present volume; cf. lvi. 5 ναυβ(ίου) κατ(οίκων) and lvii. 4 with lxv. 6, cxc–cxciv and xlii (*a*) I. 13; and it may now be regarded as certain. On the meaning of ναύβιον, an impost upon land-owners in connection with the maintenance of dykes and canals, see Ox. Pap. II. p. 297, and Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 259–63, and cf. lv–lvii.

In I. 13 and II. 13 also ν́ is best explained as ν(αύβιον). The only alternative that is there at all likely is πεντηκοστή, but from its position between the sums paid for ἀπόμοιρα and the προσδιαγραφόμενα, ν́ must clearly be closely related to the ἀπόμοιρα, and the sum is in neither case $\frac{1}{20}$ of that preceding. Though no other instance is known of the ναύβιον connected with ἀπόμοιρα,

[1] We should be quite ready to adopt ἐναρούριον if it were not for the certain occurrence in cxc (cf. cxciv.) of a tax called ενα( ) followed like the ἐπαρούριον by προσδιαγραφόμενα and κόλλυβος. Cf. also Brit. Mus. Pap. 193. I. 6.

there is nothing remarkable in the collocation, since the ἀπόμοιρα was in the Roman period a tax calculated upon the acreage of the property (*v. sup.*).

κο^{λ} is for κολλύβου, as is shown by Gr. Pap. II. lxv. 3, and presumably has something to do with giving change. It follows προσδιαγραφόμενα several times in the present volume, often in connexion with ἐπαρουρίου as here and in lxvi. 7 and cxc, but also with ναυβίου κατοίκων in lvi. 7, lvii. 5 and cxciii, and with ενα( ) in cxciv, usually as a trifling payment. In Brit. Mus. Pap. 451. 8 (cf. *Class. Rev.* xii. p. 435) 10 (obols, see note on lvi. 7) are paid for κολ(λύβου); cf. also B. G. U. 9 IV. 2.

σ̄ is for σ(υμβολικῶν); cf. lvii. 5, B. G. U. 219. 13, Gr. Pap. II. lxv. 3, and Brit. Mus. Pap. 329. 8 and 9, where the symbol recurs, with lvi. 7, and Brit. Mus. Pap. 451. 8, where συμβο^{λ} and συμ are found in a similar position, and also Gr. Pap. II. xli. 10 προσδιαγραφομένους καὶ συμβολικ(ο)ὺς, B. G. U. 99. 8 προσδιαγραφόμενα συμβολ(ικά), and 219. 8, where συμβολ(ικό) is probably to be read for ημο. . . When the amounts are given, they are, as here, very small. The συμβολικόν was a payment to the tax-collector for writing the σύμβολον or receipt (cf. Rev. Pap. XX. 14), and is to be distinguished in all cases from the προσδιαγραφόμενα, the precise nature of which is unknown. Those instances where no sum is mentioned after συμβολικά are to be explained as mere omissions (cf. the frequent omissions of the amounts paid for προσδιαγράφομενα), not by the supposition that the συμβολικά were sometimes included in the προσδιαγραφόμενα.

Col. I.

[Ἀπολ]λατᾷ στρ(ατηγῷ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου)
[Ἡρα]κλ(είδου) μερίδος
παρὰ Διοσκ(όρου) ἐν κλ(ήρῳ) καὶ
μετόχ(ων) [π]ρακ(τόρων) ἀργυ(ρικῶν)
Ἡφαιστ(ιάδος). λόγος ἐν κεφ(αλαίῳ)
τῶν διαγεγρ(αμμένων) ἡμῖν
ἰς ἀρίθ(μησιν) Μεχεὶρ Φαμε(νὼθ)
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κϛ (ἔτους)
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Κομμόδου Ἀντωνείνου
Σεβαστοῦ. ἔστι δέ·
διοικήσεως κε (ἔτους)
ἀπομ(οίρας) (δραχμαὶ) Σμ, ν(αυβίου)
(δραχμαὶ) ι,

Col. II.

Ἀπολλωτᾷ στρ(ατηγῷ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου)
Ἡρακλ(είδου) μερίδος
παρὰ Διοσκ(όρου) ἐν κλ(ήρῳ) καὶ
μετόχ(ων) πρακ(τόρων) ἀργυ(ρικῶν)
Ἡφα(ιστιάδος).
λόγος ἐν κεφαλ(αίῳ) τῶν
διαγεγρ(αμμένων) ἡμῖν ἰς ἀρίθ(μησιν)
μηνὸς Φαρμοῦθ(ι) τοῦ
ἐνεστῶτος κϛ (ἔτους)
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Κομμόδου Ἀντωνείνου
Σεβαστοῦ. ἔστι δέ· διοικ(ήσεως)
ν(αυβίου) κ(ατ)οί(κων) (δραχμαὶ) ρμ,
προσ(διαγραφόμενα) (δραχμαὶ)

προσ(διαγραφόμενα) (δραχμαὶ) ν,
[ἐπ(αρουρίου)
(δραχμαὶ) ρνϛ, προσ(διαγραφόμενα)
(δραχμαὶ) ιβ, κ[ολ(λύβου) . . ,
σ(υμβολικὰ) (δραχμὴ) α (ὀβολός),
γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) υ[. .
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν δημ(οσίαν) τ[ρά(πεζαν)
(δραχμαὶ) Σμε.
/ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐ(τὸ) (δραχμαὶ) ψ[. .
(ἔτους) κϛ, Φαρμ(οῦθι) κθ.

ιδ, σ(υμβολικὰ) (τριώβολον),
/ (δραχμαὶ) ρνδ (τριώβολον),
ἀπομ(οίρας) κε (ἔτους) (δραχμαὶ) τ,
ν(αυβίου) (δραχμαὶ) ιε, προσ-
(διαγραφόμενα)
(δραχμαὶ) ξγ, ἐπ(αρουρίου) (δραχμαὶ)
Σξ, προσ(διαγραφόμενα) κ,
κολ(λύβου)
(δραχμαὶ) ια, σ(υμβολικὰ) (τριώ-
βολον), γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ)
χξθ (τριώβολον).
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν δημ(οσίαν) τρά(πεζαν)
(δραχμαὶ) τζ (πεντώβολον).
/ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐ(τὸ) (δραχμαὶ) Ἀρλα.
(ἔτους) κϛ, Παχὼν κε.

I. 15. ν of ρνϛ corr. from λ.

I. 3. ἐν κλ(ήρῳ): cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* II no. 285, Ἀπεχνοῦμις Παπρεμίθου ἐν κλήρῳ καὶ Κορνῆλις Σαραπαμῶν γενό(μενος) πράκτ(ωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν), and *ibid.* no. 1588 ἐν κ(λήρῳ) πράκ(τορες). The lists of persons suitable for the post of πράκτωρ were made out in the first instance by the village officials and submitted by the κωμογραμματεύς to the στρατηγός who in his turn submitted them to the ἐπιστράτηγος for decision; cf. B. G. U. 194, 235, and Wilcken, *ibid.* I. pp. 602–3. Dioscorus had been nominated, but his appointment was not yet officially sanctioned.

5. Ἡφαιστ(ιάδος): cf. note on xv. 4.

7. ἀριθ(μησιν): the accounts of taxes were made up monthly, and in many instances the payments of the taxpayers were made in monthly instalments. Hence tax-receipts frequently mention the ἀρίθμησις to which the payment in question belonged, the month in nearly all cases being that preceding the date of the receipt. Where the ἀρίθμησις was for the same month as that in which the receipt was dated, it was usually omitted; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 815. For an exception cf. l. 3 of the present volume.

12. διοικήσεως: the word appears to have its limited sense, designating either payments to the government for its own use as distinguished from payments to it on behalf of the temples (cf. Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 656), or else being opposed to οὐσιακά, i.e. the *patrimonium Caesaris* (Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 644). Cf. lxxxvi. 1.

A corollary from the occurrence of the ἀπόμοιρα under this heading is that the proceeds of that tax were not, in the Roman period at any rate, paid over to the temples; and this confirms the view of Philadelphus' ordinances concerning the ἀπόμοιρα maintained by the editors of the Revenue Papyrus and formerly by Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 158) as against his later view (*ibid.* 615[1]).

II. 15. The 669 dr. 3 obols do not include the sums in line 12, which are however added in to make the grand total in line 18. There is a slight inaccuracy in the total 113 drachmae in line 18, 3+3+5 = 11 obols being treated as one drachma.

XLII. Tax-Collectors' Return.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 21·9 × 6·3 *cm.* A.D. 196.

Return, similar to the preceding, addressed to a strategus by the tax-collectors of Archelais, and stating the amounts paid to the *δημοσία τράπεζα* on account of poll-tax and *φόρος φυτῶν*, a tax upon garden produce, for the month of Tubi; cf. introd. to xli. B. G. U. 199 is another return addressed to the same strategus, Philoxenus, but in his capacity of deputy for the strategus of the division of Heraclides.

Φι[λο]ξένῳ
στρ(ατηγῷ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Θεμίστου
καὶ Πολέ(μωνος) μερίδ(ων)
Ἀνουβᾶς καὶ [μ]έτο(χοι)
πράκ(τορες) Ἀρχελαίδος.
διεγράφη ἰς
μῆνα Τῦβι ἐ[π]ὶ
τὴν δημοσίαν
τράπαιζαν τοῦ
δ (ἔτους) λαογραφίας
(δραχμαὶ) ρκ,
φόρου φυτῶν (δραχμαὶ) π,
/ (δραχμαὶ) Σ.

(ἔτους) {τους} δ Λουκίου
Σεπτιμ{μ}ίου
Σεουήρου Σεβαστοῦ,
Μεχ(εὶρ) δ.

9. l. τράπεζαν.

'To Philoxenus, strategus of the divisions of Themistes and Polemo of the Arsinoite nome, from Anoubas and partners, tax-collectors of Archelais. There has been paid for the month of Tubi into the official bank on account of the poll-tax of the fourth year 120 drachmae, for the plant-tax 80 drachmae, total 200 drachmae. The fourth year of Lucius Septimius Severus Augustus, Mecheir 4.'

12. *φόρου φυτῶν*: cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 403, where a *τέλεσμα φυτῶν* is mentioned (the payment, as here, being in money), and cxc, where *φόρος φυτῶν* occurs with taxes on orchards and gardens, such as the *ἐπαρούριον* and *ἀπόμοιρα*. Whether it fell on the same land as these two taxes is not clear, but this is in itself not improbable: owners of *ἀμπελῶνες* had to pay three sorts of taxes; cf. Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 270.

14. The scribe began the line with the sign for (*ἔτους*) and then wrote *τους*, as if he had begun with *ε*.

16. The scribe has omitted the usual Περτίνακος.

XLII (*a*). Tax-Collectors' Return.

Harît. 13·1 × 19·8 *cm.* Late second century A.D.

Return addressed to the strategus of the division of Heraclides by the tax-collectors of Pharbetha, giving a list of arrears of taxes in Phamenoth of

the 7th year of an emperor. The top halves of two columns are preserved and the beginnings of lines of a third, and on the *verso* is part of the column in a different hand but dealing with the same subject.

The writing on the *recto* is excessively cursive and abounds in abbreviations, and the surface of the papyrus is much damaged, so that the decipherment is often a matter of great difficulty. But despite its incomplete condition this document is of considerable importance, since it gives us the names of no less than twenty-five different taxes (of which several are new) levied on inhabitants of a single village.

Col. I.

[. . . . .] . . φ στρ(ατηγῷ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Ἡρακ(είδου)
μερίδος
παρὰ Χαιρήμονος καὶ μ(ετόχων) πρακ(τόρων)
ἀργ(υρικῶν) κώμης Φαρ̣β̣ήθ(ων).
ἔχθεσις κατ' ἄνδ(ρα) καὶ̣ εἶδος
[. .]υ̣ λ̣ο̣ιπ(ῶν) εἰς μῆνα Φαμενὼθ λημ-
μάτων ζ (ἔτους) τοῦ ἐ̣νεστῶ̣τ̣ο̣ς
[. .] . . .   ἔστι δέ
. . κ̣( )

τέλ(ους) θυιῶν	(δραχμαὶ) ιε,
ὑποκ(ειμένου) ἐπιστρ(ατηγία̣)	(δραχμαὶ) ρκϛ̣ (τριώβολον),
ἱερίων δη(μοσίων)	(δραχμαὶ) να (ὀβολός),
ναυβ(ίου) κατοίκ(ων)	(δραχμαὶ) Ἀυθ (ὀβολός),
ἐ̣ν( )	(δραχμαὶ) νϛ (πεντώβολον),
γραμματ(έως) φυλ(άκων)	(δραχμαὶ) λθ (τετρώβολον),
ε̣ . . . ο̣υ̣ μ̣υ̣ρ̣( )	(δραχμαὶ) δ,

. . . .

Col. II.		Col. III.
σιτικῶν [ ]	(δραχμαὶ) Σμβ,	γερ[δ(ιακοῦ)
ἀμπελ(ώνων)	(δραχμαὶ) ρκε̣,	δ̣ι̣ο̣γ[
δε̣σ̣δ̣( )	(δραχμαὶ) χκ,	δ[
μαγ[δώλ(ων)]	(δραχμαὶ) ν̣ϛ̣,	κ̣ . . [
ἁλικ̣(ῆς) [	(δραχμαὶ)	[
χω(ματικῶν)	(δραχμαὶ) κ̣ε̣,	λου̣[

ἱερατ(ι)κ(ῶν) ἐπι̣( )	(δραχμαὶ) δ (ὀβολός),	διεγ(ράφη) [
ἐπιστ(ατικοῦ) ἱερέων	(δραχμαὶ) πα̣,	[
φό(ρου) ζ(υ) ε̣λ( )	(δραχμαὶ) υqα̣ (τετρώβολον?),	σ̣τ̣ . . [
ἱ[ε]ρῶν	(δραχμαὶ) κα (τετρώβολον),	πε̣λ( ) . . . . [
εἴδ(ους) ὑικ(ῆς)	(δραχμαὶ) ια (τετρώβολον),	[
ἐννο(μίου)	(δραχμαὶ) τκ,	[
ναύλ(ου) καὶ ἄλλω(ν) δαπ(ανῶν)	(δραχμαὶ) μζ,	[
ἐπιτε(ίμου) παραχειρογρ(αφούντων)	(δραχμαὶ) ρ̣ϛ (διώβολον),	πα̣ . . . . [
καθ( ) προσόδ(ων) οἰκοπ(έδων)	(δραχμαὶ) Σνζ,	διεγ(ράφη) [
σιτικ(ῶν)	(δραχμαὶ) Σμα,	. . [
		διεγ(ράφη) [
. . . . .		. . .

On the *verso*

καὶ τῶν ⟦δε⟧ παρ' ἐπιτηρητ[αῖς
ἰχθυηρᾶς δρυμῶν τ[οῦ
η (ἔτους) [
διεγρ(άφησαν) ζ (ἔτους) Παῦ̣νι
(δραχμαὶ) ι [
νομῶν θερινῶν [
η (ἔτους) [
διεγρ(άφη) ζ (ἔτους) Παῦνι [

. . . . .

I. 5. ἔχθεσις: this word is regularly employed for a list of arrears; cf. cccxx ἔχθεσις λοιπ(ῶν), and Pap. Ox. II. 291. 3.

6. Perhaps το]ῦ λοιπ(οῦ) or λελοιπ(ογραφημένων).

8. Perhaps the line began η ἔτους; the vestiges are consistent with]τους. The eighth year is mentioned on the *verso*.

9. Possibly τὸ κ(αθ' ἕν); cf. B. G. U. 199. 10. But the first letter is not much like τ.

10. For the tax on thyia-wood see Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 374.

11. Cf. B. G. U. 199. 14 where a payment for ὑποκειμένου ἐπιστρ(ατηγίᾳ) by the priests of Socnopaei Nesus occurs. The control of the collection of various taxes was divided amongst different officials. On the taxes 'subject to the office of epistrategus' see Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 597.

12. This tax 'for public offerings,' or (reading ἱερειῶν) 'festivals,' is new for the Roman period, though ἱερείου occurs in P. P. II. p. 37 as a tax; cf. Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 377.

13. On the naubion tax see introd. to xlii and cf. lvi and lvii.

14. The name of this tax is very uncertain. The first letter can equally well be read as σ, but if συν (i.e. συντάξεως or συνταξίμων, cf. xlv. 3) is meant, the υ is practically omitted. There are only two known names of taxes beginning with εν, ἐνοίκιον and ἐννόμιον, of which the latter occurs in II. 12. On the ἐνοίκιον, a tax on houses, cf. Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 192.

15. This tax 'for the scribe of the guards,' i.e. for his salary, is new.

II. 1. Cf. 16 where another entry for σιτικῶν, 241 dr., is found, being one drachma less than the amount here. For the payment of σιτικά in money instead of kind cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. 367 (*a*), a receipt issued by a πράκτωρ σιτικῶν; but it is remarkable that the πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν should be concerned with the collection of σιτικά in any form. Perhaps it was owing to the fact that the payments were in arrear.

2. On the land-tax upon vineyards cf. cclxiii and Wilcken, *ibid.* pp. 147 sqq.

3. Only the tops of the letters are preserved. The second might be ο, the third π or γ. It is tempting to read δεσμ(οφυλακίας), cf. liv. 17; but the beginning of the final letter above the line does not suit μ.

4–6. On the tax for the maintenance of watch-towers cf. liv. 13, cccxvii and xxxviii. 5; on the salt-tax cf. cccxli and Wilcken, *ibid.* pp. 141 sqq.; and on the tax for the maintenance of dykes cf. introd. to lxxvii, Wilcken, *ibid.* pp. 333 sqq., and Ox. Pap. II. p. 281.

7. This tax is new; cf. liv. 7 where ἱερα(τικῶν) alone is found. The uncertainty attaching to the second word used here renders the meaning obscure.

8. On the tax 'for the ἐπιστάτης of the priests' cf. li. 5.

9. The name of this tax is very obscure. ζυ suggests a compound of ζυτ- or ζυγ-, but the round stroke ought to represent a π, and φόρος has not been found in the Roman period in connexion with the taxes ζυτηρά, ζυτοποιία or ζυγοστάσιον, though cf. Gr. Pap. II. xxxix. Of the three ζυ(το)π(οιίας) is the most probable. The doubtful ε may be υ, and the doubtful λ, δ.

10. On the tax 'for temples,' which is new, cf. introd. to xxxix.

11. For the pig-tax cf. note on liv. 7.

12. On the payment for the use of public pastures cf. *verso* 6 and introd. to lxi.

13. On ναῦλον cf. Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 386. Probably a payment for the use of boats supplied by the government is meant.

14. The penalties are those which are often stipulated in contracts to be paid εἰς τὸ δημόσιον: cf. Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 368.

15. Perhaps καθ' (ἕν). This tax was levied upon the income derived from building-land; cf. Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 390.

16. Cf. note on II. 1.

III. 1. On the tax upon weaving cf. xlviii and Ox. Pap. II. pp. 280–1.

Verso 1. This list seems to be a continuation of Col. III, διεγράφη appearing at intervals as there; but apparently the taxes here are distinguished from the others in being collected by ἐπιτηρηταί of the πράκτορες, instead of directly by them.

2. ἰχθυηρᾶς δρυμῶν: cf. B. G. U. 485. 8. On the tax upon the fishing industry cf. Wilcken, *ibid.* pp. 137 sqq. Perhaps Δρυμῶν, i.e. a village name, should be read.

6. Apparently this payment 'for the summer pastures' is distinct from the 'pasture-tax' mentioned in II. 12. It has not been found before.

XLIII. Tax-Receipt.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 16·3 × 8·4 *cm.* B.C. 28.

Receipt issued by two tax-collectors, Harpaësion and Nilus, to Acusilaus (?), stating that he had paid 'the 12 drachmae (tax) of the 2nd year.' On palaeographical grounds the papyrus must belong to the latter part of the

first century B.C. The '2nd year' therefore in all probability refers to Augustus. The nature of the tax is obscure. A century later we hear of μητροπολῖται δωδεκάδραχμοι at Oxyrhynchus (Ox. Pap. II. 258. 8), who paid twelve drachmae for poll-tax, but we cannot postulate the existence of the poll-tax so early as B.C. 28 (cf. Ox. Pap. II, p. 209). The amount of the actual payment, which was made in copper, is also uncertain; see note on line 3.

Ἁρπαησίω(ν) Νῖλος Ἀκο̣(υσιλάῳ) Ἀκ̣(ουσιλάου) χα̣(ίρειν).
διαγεγρ(άφηκας) ιβ (δραχμῶν) τοῦ β (ἔτους)
[symbol] ιβ χα(λκοῦ). (ἔτους) β, Μεσο(ρὴ) κδ.
2nd hand Νεῖλος συνεπηκ⟨ο⟩λ[ού-
θηκα.
(ἔτους) β, Μεσορὴ κδ.

3. The meaning of the symbol before ιβ is obscure. We should expect the sign for δραχμαί, especially since ιβ< is the name of the tax. But the symbol cannot mean δραχμαί. Nor is it much like the sign for talent at this period, and even though the payment is made in copper, 12 talents would be an odd amount to be paid for a tax of 12 drachmae. Without the stroke through the middle the symbol would be rather like that for 1000. The ratio of silver to copper about this period was 1 : 350; cf. introd. to xliv.

XLIV. Receipt for Mason's Tax.

Harit. 16·5 × 6·3 *cm.* B.C. 16 (?).

Receipt issued by Apollonius, agent of Archias who was probably a tax-farmer, to a mason (λάξος), stating that he had paid the tax on his trade (τὰ λαξικά). What the amount of the tax was depends on the method of punctuation adopted in lines 9 sqq. If our explanation is correct, the total was 5 talents of copper, of which 2 talents 2000 drachmae had already been paid to Ammonarion, presumably another agent of Archias, in its equivalent in silver, 40 drachmae, while the receipt of the remaining 2 talents 4000 drachmae in copper, making up 5 talents in all, is acknowledged by the present document. On this supposition the ratio of silver to copper at the period when this papyrus was written was 1:350. The date of the document is the 14th year (or possibly the 24th) of a sovereign who, on palaeographical grounds, is most probably Augustus. A ratio of 1:450 between Ptolemaic copper and Roman silver is known to have existed about the end of the first century A.D. (Ox. Pap. II, p. 187). In the Ptolemaic period the ratio was 1:120, so far as is known, throughout the third and second centuries B.C.

That the ratio should be 1:350 in Augustus' time is not in itself improbable; and corroborative evidence is supplied by cccviii, an account written in the last half of the first century B.C., in which the same ratio between silver and copper is found. After adding up various minor sums which come to ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ξ καὶ χαλκοῦ 'ΔΣ, the writer proceeds ἰς ἀργυ(ρίου) λό(γον) ἀνὰ 'Αυ, / (δραχμαὶ) ιβ, το( ) ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) οβ, i.e. 4200 copper drachmae at the rate of 1400 (for a stater, the normal unit of comparison, cf. Ox. Pap. II. 243. 42) are equivalent to 12 silver drachmae, or 350 : 1.

The papyrus is written on the vertical fibres of the *recto*, in a rude hand.

'Απολλώνιος ὁ παρὰ
'Αρχίου 'Οννώφρι λά-
ξῳ τῆς Θεμίστου με-
ρίδος χαίρειν. ἔχω
παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ 'Αρχίου
τῶν λαξικῶν σὺν
τοῖς δεδομένοις 'Αμμ-
ωναρίωνι τῷ Εἰρηναί-
ου ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαῖς) τεσσαράκον-
τα χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντα) β 'Δ εἰς συνπλ-
ήρωσιν χαλκοῦ (ταλάντων)
πέντε, / χα(λκοῦ)
(τάλαντα) ε.
(ἔτους) ιδ, Παῦνι
ιθ.

3. ε of της inserted over the line. 8. ν(?) of -ωνι is written over the ι. η of ειρη corr. from ε.

3. It is noticeable that only the μερίς of Onnophris and not his village is mentioned. Perhaps the masons of the μερίς formed a single company of which he was one, or he may have received the sole concession for the μερίς; cf. xciii, a contract for the lease of a share of the perfumery business of the μερίς.

7 sqq. There are three possible ways of punctuating this passage, each of which produces a different meaning. If a stop is placed after Εἰρηναίου, the 40 drachmae of silver and 2 talents 4000 drachmae of copper are the object of ἔχω, and the five talents in line 12 must be the sum of (*a*) the money paid to Ammonarion, (*b*) the 40 drachmae of silver, (*c*) the 2 talents 4000 dr. of copper. For it is impossible with this punctuation to suppose that the 5 talents were obtained either by adding (*a*) and (*c*) together, since the silver would then be left out of account in the total in lines 12–13, which is most unlikely, or by adding (*b*) and (*c*) together, since εἰς συμπλήρωσιν is not the right expression for a conversion of two sums simultaneously paid in different metals into one sum in a single metal. On this system of punctuation therefore the 5 talents are the total of (*a*) one unknown, and (*b*), (*c*) two known amounts; and all that could be inferred about the relation of silver to copper would be that the ratio was higher than 1 : 350.

Another alternative is to place a stop after τεσσαράκοντα, in which case the meaning is 'I have received in addition to the 40 drachmae of silver given to Ammonarion 2 talents 4000 drachmae of copper making up a total of 5 talents of copper.' This is the punctuation which we have adopted, although it is open to the objection that τοῖς δεδομένοις should strictly be ταῖς δεδομέναις. A third alternative is to place a stop after 'Δ, i.e. 'I have received, in addition to the 40 dr. of silver and the 2 talents 4000 dr. of copper given to

Ammonarion, 5 talents in order to make up the whole amount.' On this hypothesis the grand total was 40 dr. of silver + 7 talents 4000 dr. of copper. But this explanation is the least satisfactory of the three because, if the sums mentioned in ll. 9 and 10 are not reckoned in the sum paid εἰς συμπλήρωσιν, we should expect χωρίς, not σύν, in 6. Practically therefore the choice lies between the two other alternatives, and we prefer the second, since it seems more likely that in a formal receipt τοῖς διδομένοις would be specified rather than left vague, and the ratio of silver to copper which results is supported by cccviii.

7–8. Ἀμμ|ωναρίωι: both here and in 10–11 συνπλ|ήρωσιν the writer offends against the canon of the correct division of words.

XLV. Tax-Receipt.

Harit. 17·7 × 10·5 *cm.* A.D. 10–11.

The following papyrus is a receipt for a tax called συντάξιμον, which occurs also in cccxv and (in the abbreviated form συν^τ or συντα) no doubt in liii. 4, liv. 6, &c., and probably in Brit. Mus. Pap. 181 (*b*) II. 18. The word συντάξιμον is new, but σύνταξις occurs frequently in the sense of 'contributions' of various kinds, sometimes denoting the pension received by the temples, sometimes a tax, almost as equivalent to φόρος (Wilcken, *Ost.* I, p. 296). The particular meaning here is obscure.

The sums are paid in three instalments for the 39th year of Augustus and amount to 44 drachmae 6 chalchi; and it is noticeable that the same yearly total for συντάξιμον, but made up of a larger number of instalments, is found in liii and liv which belong to the second century. It seems, therefore, that this was the regular amount of the tax per annum.

At the top are the beginnings of three lines (not printed) in the same hand as the rest of the papyrus. The entry dated in the 40th year in ll. 6–8 was made later, but apparently is in the same hand.

Ἔτους λθ Καίσαρος, Παχὼν λ, διέγρ(αψε)
Θέων Μύσθου Ἡρακλᾷ τῶι
παρὰ Τρύφωνος γυ . . ( ) συντάξιμον
τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) (ἔτους) Θεαδελφείας ἀργυρίου (δραχμὰς) εἴκοσι
ὀκτ[ώ], / (δραχμαὶ) κη, καὶ Π(αῦνι) δ τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)
(δραχμὰς) δέκα δύο, / (δραχμαὶ) ιβ. (ἔτους) μ Καίσαρος [. . .
κ, ὑπ(ὲρ) τοῦ ἐνάτου καὶ τριακ(οστοῦ) (ἔτους)
(δραχμὰς) τέσ(σ)αρα(ς) (ἡμιώβολον) χ(αλκοῦς) β, / (δραχμαὶ) δ (ἡμιώβολον) χ(αλκοῖ) β.

3. The word after Τρύφωνος is probably the title of the tax-collector.

XLVI. Receipt for Bath-tax.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 8 × 8·3 *cm.* A.D. 36.

A receipt for 5 obols on account in payment of the bath-tax, which seems to have been levied for the maintenance of the public baths; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 165 sqq. Receipts for this tax also occur in the early Roman ostraca from Ḳaṣr el Banât (**2**–**4**), but since the payments are generally, as here, on account, they do not give much information about the annual amount of the tax. Four drachmae is the highest sum paid.

(Ἔτους) κβ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,
Παῦνι δ, δι(έγραψεν) Ἀγχοῦ(φις) Κάστωρος
. . γ̣( ) βαλαν(είων) Εὐημε(ρείας) ἐπὶ λ(όγου)
ὀβολ(οὺς) πέντε, / (ὀβολοὶ) ε.
2nd hand *Ἡρᾶς σεσημίομαι.*

5. l. σεσημείωμαι.

2. The fact that the tax-collector, whose signature occurs in line 5, is called Heras precludes the resolution of the abbreviations as δι(ὰ) Ἀγχού(φιος) Κάστωρ followed by another proper name. The word at the beginning of line 3 is therefore probably part of the name of the tax; but it is not an abbreviation of τέλος.

XLVII. Receipt for Tax on Beer.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 14·8 × 7·7 *cm.* A.D. 61.

The tax upon beer, which was a regular impost in both the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 369), is the subject of the two following receipts, which acknowledge a number of payments on this account from a certain Petesuchus, amounting in the one case to 8 drachmae, in the other, probably referring to the following year, to 12 drachmae. Other instances of payments for beer-tax in this volume are xlvii (*a*), ccxv, ccxix, cclxii, cccxxvii, Ost. **9**. **10**. The phraseology of the majority of these receipts is quite in accordance with the accepted view of the tax, that it was a duty paid by the brewers. This is especially clear in ccxv and Ost. **10**. 4, where the word ζυτοποιία occurs in place of ζυτηρά. The present example however offers difficulties. In the first of the receipts the payments are stated to be ὑ(πὲρ) παραζυτ( ) κατ' ἄνδ(ρα) ζυτ( ). παραζυτ( ) is a new form, which presumably implies something different from the ordinary ζυτηρά; but its meaning for the present remains doubtful. In Brit. Mus. Pap. 254 *verso* 70 a word that may be read as ζυτικό(ν) occurs (cf. Kenyon, *Cat.* II. p. 230, note), so perhaps παραζυτ(ικόν) may be the

right resolution here. In the second receipt the payments are described as ἀπὸ τιμῆς ζύτου; cf. ccxix (which has every appearance of being an ordinary tax-receipt) ἀπὸ?] τιμῆς ζύτου οὗ εἰλ(ηφεν?) εἰς . . . Perhaps the phrase ἀπὸ τιμῆς may be regarded as an equivalent of φόρος, the word used in the first century B.C. receipts published in Gr. Pap. II. xxxix (cf. xlii (*a*), II. 9, note).

The two receipts are written upon the *verso* of the papyrus; there are vestiges of three lines of writing at the bottom of the *recto*.

Ἔτους ζ Νέρωνος Κλαυδί̣ο̣(υ)
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος, Μεχ(εὶρ) α, δι(έγραψε)
Πετεσοῦχο(ς) Ὀρσενούφεως
ὑ(πὲρ) παραζυτ( ) κατ' ἄ̣ν̣δ(ρα) ζυ̣τ( )
Εὐημ(ερείας) τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)
ἐπὶ λόγο(υ) (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρε̣ς, / (δραχμαὶ) δ,
καὶ τῇ ιε ὁμοί(ως) ἐπὶ λ(όγου) (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρ(ας),
/ (δραχμαὶ) δ.
Ἔτους η [Νέ]ρων[ο]ς̣ Κ[λ]αυδ[ίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Ἀθὺρ [. .
δι(έγραψε) Πετεσοῦχος Ὀρσενο(ύφεως) ἀπὸ τ̣ι̣μῆ(ς)
ζύτου ἐπὶ λόγο(υ) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώι, / (δραχμαὶ) η,
Ἐπὶφ β̣, ἄλλας (δραχμὰς) τέσσα[ρας, / (δραχμαὶ) δ.

5. The abbreviated ζυτ in this line is in both cases written in the same way, with an incurved stroke after and slightly above the τ. There is no trace of an ο between the τ and the stroke.

12. ἀπὸ τιμῆ(ς): the word following ἀπό is very cursively written, only the τ being fairly clear. We read τιμῆ(ς) on the analogy of ccxix, which is approximately of the same date, and where a payment of 8 drachmae on account ἀπὸ] τιμῆς ζύτου is recorded.

XLVII (*a*). Receipt for Tax on Beer.

Kaṣr el Banât. 10·2 × 9·8 *cm.* A.D. 114–5.

A receipt for the payment by Onnophris of ten drachmae two and a half obols on account of beer-tax, and for another payment, probably the same amount, on behalf of another person, for the same tax. Cf. introd. to the preceding papyrus.

On the *recto* is a fragment of a taxing-list.

(Ἔτους) ιη Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νερούα
Τραιανοῦ Ἀρίστου Σεβ[α]στοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Δακικοῦ, δι(έγραψε) δι(ὰ) Ἀσκληπ(ιάδου) καὶ Ἀρχιβίου πρακ(τόρων)
Ὀννῶφρις Ἡρακλείδου ὑπ(ὲρ) ζυτη(ρᾶς) κατ' ἄνδ(ρα)
τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) κατὰ μέρος ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) δέκα
(διώβολον), / (δραχμαὶ) ι (διώβολον), πλή(ρης), μὴ προσχρη-
σάμενος ἑτέρῳ συμβόλ(ῳ).
ὑπὲρ Πισάιτος Ἀπ̣α . [. .]ς μητρὸς Τα . [. . .
[. .] . . [. . . κατὰ μ]έρος [δρ]αχ(μὰς) δ[έκα (διώβολον)?,
[/] (δραχμαὶ ?) ι̣ [διώβολον, μὴ προσ]χρησάμεν[ος ἑτέρῳ
σ̣[υμβόλ(ῳ).]
[. . . . .] . . . [. . .] . [
. . . .

5. κατὰ μέρος here and in 9 perhaps implies that Onnophris and Pisais were members of a company, and that the payment was their share of the total amount due from their firm; cf. κατ' ἄνδρα which regularly occurs with ζυτηρά or ζυτοποιία in receipts for beer-tax.

6. After the second sign for διώβολον there is a short upward stroke which possibly represents half an obol; but the amounts before and after the sign for 'total' do not then correspond. There is another stroke in the reverse direction in the margin opposite this line.

6–7. On μὴ προσχρησάμενος κ.τ.λ., which recurs in 10, cf. liv. 3, note.

8. In the margin opposite this line are traces of two or three letters, the last of which is apparently μ.

XLVIII. Receipts for Tax on Weaving.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 7·3 × 17·3 *cm.* A.D. 98.

Two receipts, the first for five payments amounting to 31 drachmae, on account of the γερδιακόν or tax on weavers, the second probably referring to a sixth payment for the same tax. The γερδιακόν was one of the taxes on trades, and at Oxyrhynchus in the early part of the first century seems to have stood at 36 drachmae yearly (Ox. Pap. II. 288, introd.). If the sums acknowledged in these two receipts are taken as representing the total amount of the

tax for the year, a very similar rate, 38 drachmae, is obtained. In a number of Theban ostraca of the first and second centuries monthly payments varying from two to eight drachmae are recorded (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 172). It is a question whether these monthly payments are to be regarded as regular instalments (i.e. are to be multiplied by twelve to give the total amount of the tax for the year), or are simply irregular payments on account. Wilcken prefers the latter view, notwithstanding the fact that, as he himself shows (*ibid.* p. 337), the monthly rate was usual at Thebes in the case of taxes upon trades; and he may now appeal to the analogy of the present papyrus according to which 14 drachmae were paid in one month, 7 drachmae in the next, and 5 drachmae in each of the two months following. On the other hand B. G. U. 9 proves that two centuries later taxes on trades in the Fayûm were paid at a regular monthly rate.

An incidental feature of interest in this document is the information which it conveys that the news of Nerva's death, which occurred on Jan. 27, A.D. 98, was not generally known in the Fayûm by the following April 25; cf. l. 6, where Pharmouthi 30 is included in the second year of Nerva. The news, however, arrived shortly afterwards if, as is probable, the second receipt, which is dated in the first year of Trajan, was written in the next month. Statistics concerning the length of time which elapsed between the deaths of various emperors and the dates at which the facts became known in Egypt are collected by Wilcken, *ibid.* pp. 800 sqq. Periods of two, three, and, in the case of Commodus, even five months, are attested.

The receipts are written across the vertical fibres of the *recto*.

Col. I.

Ἔτους δευτέρου Αὐτοκράτορος Νερούα
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Τῦβι δ, δι(έγραψε) δι(ὰ) Τρύφωνο(ς)
γραμ(ματέως) Ἥρων προγό(νου) Π̣τ̣ο̣λ̣λ̣ᾶς γερδ(ιακοῦ) Εὐημε(ρείας)
τοῦ αὐτο(ῦ) β (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) ἑπτά, / (δραχμαὶ) ζ, λ (δραχμὰς) ἑπτά,
/ (δραχμαὶ) ζ, Μεχ(εὶρ) λ (δραχμὰς) ἑπτά, / (δραχμαὶ) ζ, Φαμε(νὼθ)
λ (δραχμὰς) πέντε, / (δραχμαὶ) ε, Φαρμο(ῦθι) λ (δραχμὰς) πέντε,
/ (δραχμαὶ) ε.

Col. II.

2nd hand Ἔτους πρώτου Αὐτοκράτορο[ς Καίσαρος Νερούα
Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικ[οῦ, ... δι(έγραψε)
διὰ Δείου γρα(μματέως) Ἥρων προγ(όνου) Π[τολλᾶτος τοῦ αὐτοῦ
τελέσματο(ς) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ἑπτά, / (δραχμαὶ) [ζ.

I. 3. l. Πτολλᾶτος.

Col. I. 'The second year of the Emperor Nerva Caesar Augustus, Tubi 4. Paid through Tryphon, clerk, by Heron, grandson of Ptollas, for the weaver's tax at Euhemeria in the same second year, seven drachmae, total 7 dr.; the 30th, seven drachmae, total 7 dr.; Mecheir 30, seven drachmae, total 7 dr.; Phamenoth 30, five drachmae, total 5 dr.; Pharmouthi 30, five drachmae, total 5 dr.'

I. 3. γραμ(ματέως): γραμματεῖς were regularly attached to the πράκτορες and not infrequently issued receipts on their behalf; cf. e.g. ccciii.

προγό(νου): so too in II. 3. The grandfather's name is perhaps given because the father's name was unknown. Cf. B. G. U. 618, ii. 14, where in a list of names Πωλίων Πλάιτα is succeeded by Διόσκορος πρόγονος αὐτοῦ.

II. 2. As the months mentioned in the first receipt are successive, there is some probability that Παχών stood in the lacuna at the end of this line. If this was so, the news of Trajan's accession arrived in the Fayûm some time between April 26 and May 25; cf. introd.

3–4. The supplement at the end of line 3 is based on the supposition that this receipt, like the preceding, refers to a payment for the γερδιακόν. The reading ἀργ(υρίου) is not quite certain, and ἀργ(υρίου) does not occur in Col. I. But the name of no known tax is a suitable substitute; and the amount paid, 7 drachmae, is identical with that of three of the payments for γερδιακόν in the first receipt.

XLIX. Receipt for Poll-tax.

Wadfa. 10·2 x 8·7 *cm.* A.D. 138.

This and the three following papyri are receipts for payments of poll-tax (λαογραφία). The amount of this tax varied considerably at different districts and at different periods; and there were also distinct rates corresponding to distinctions of status. Thus the ostraca show (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 230 sqq.) that at Elephantine the amount of the tax was successively 16 drachmae, 17 drachmae, and 17 drachmae 1 obol. For various localities at Thebes the rates of 10 drachmae, 10 drachmae 4 obols, 16 drachmae, and 24 drachmae are attested. At Oxyrhynchus certain privileged persons paid at a rate of 12 drachmae (cf. Ox. Pap. II. 258, and introd. to 288). In the Fayûm, with which we are here concerned, two rates only have so far been established (cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. 257, 261), 40 and 20 drachmae, the latter being the more

frequently met with. Perhaps, as Kenyon conjectures (so too Wilcken, *Archiv.*, I. p. 139), the larger amount was paid by Egyptians, the smaller by such Greeks or Graeco-Egyptians as were not κάτοικοι, who were exempt altogether (cf. introd. to xxvii).

Of the four examples here published, two (l, lii) record payments of the normal 20 drachmae, the other three (xlix, li, lii *a*) are for payments of 16 drachmae; cf. also cclxxviii. In li these 16 drachmae are paid by two persons and include a payment for the ἐπιστατικὸν ἱερέων, so the amount paid by each for λαογραφία must in this case have been less than 8 drachmae. In the present papyrus the 16 drachmae are apparently three years in arrear. The sums mentioned in all these receipts for 16 drachmae were presumably part payments, and not the full amounts due for the year. This is not indeed stated in the documents themselves, but such an omission is quite inconclusive. Otherwise we should have to infer the existence in the Fayûm, as at Oxyrhynchus, of certain privileged classes who paid poll-tax at reduced rates. In line 3 of the following text the occurrence of the word επικ, which is a common abbreviation for ἐπικριθείς or ἐπικεκριμένος, might at first sight give some support to this alternative. But επικ also stands for ἐπικαλούμενος, which the order of the words here makes preferable. At present there is no evidence that there were in the Fayûm any stages of privilege between total exemption and taxation at the rate of 20 drachmae.

Ἔτους β Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τείτου Αἰλίο[υ
Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦ[ς,
Ἀθὺρ κε, ἀριθ(μήσεως) Φαῶ(φι), δι(έγραψε) Πτολ(εμαῖος) ἐπικ(αλούμενος) Μ[. . . .
Πτολ(εμαίου) τοῦ Πτολ(εμαίου) μη(τρὸς) Τρυφ(αίνης) λαογ(ραφίας) εἰκ[οστοῦ (ἔτους)
θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Βιθ(υνῶν) (δραχμὰς) δέκα ἕξ, / ιϛ, [
προσ(διαγραφόμενα) χα(λκοῦ) ὀβο[λ(οὺς) ὀκτώ.

'The second year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Athur 25, for the account of Phaophi. Paid by Ptolemaeus, surnamed M . . ., son of Ptolemaeus, son of Ptolemaeus, his mother being Tryphaena, as poll-tax for the 20th year of the deified Hadrian, in the Bithynian quarter, sixteen drachmae, total 16, and the extra payments, eight obols of copper.'

4. εἰκ[οστοῦ (ἔτους): i.e. A.D. 134–5. It is strange that the payment should have been allowed to remain so long in arrear, but there does not seem to be room for anything more in the lacuna than [οστου (ἔτους).

5. Βιθ(υνῶν) is the name of the ἄμφοδον, probably at Arsinoë, in which the taxpayer lived; cf. lii. 5, lii (*a*). 2.

6. ὀκτώ: the regular amount of the προσδιαγραφόμενα in payments of poll-tax is 1 copper obol for 2 drachmae; cf. cccxlix–ccclviii, &c.

L. Receipt for Poll-tax.

Kaṣr el Banât. 6·6 × 9·8 *cm.* A.D. 182.

Receipt for the payment by Chaeras of 20 drachmae, being the poll-tax for the 22nd year of Commodus; cf. introd. to xlix.

Ἔτους κβ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ,
Ἐπὶφ λ, ἀριθ(μήσεως) Ἐπίφ, δι(έγραψε)
Χαιρᾶς Χαιρᾶτο(ς) Ἁρποκ(ρατίωνος) μη(τρὸς) Σαμβο(ῦτος)
(ὑπὲρ) λαογρ(αφίας) κβ (ἔτους) Ἰσίου Δώμ(ατος ?)
(δραχμὰς) εἴκοσι, / κ, προ(σδιαγραφόμενα) χ(αλκοῦ) ὀ(βολοὺς) δέκ(α).

5. The symbol at the beginning of this line is made in the same way as that which we have interpreted as διά in Ox. Pap. II. 289. Col. I. 12, 19, II. 12; 290. 20, 23. That the symbol stands for διά in 289 seems tolerably certain; but in 290 ὑπέρ is not excluded.

Ἰσίου Δώμ(ατος) or Δωμ(άτων) is the name of the ἄμφοδον in which Chaeras lived. No ἄμφοδον of this name is known at Arsinoë, and it may have been at Euhemeria, though the other ἄμφοδα mentioned in these poll-tax receipts appear to be at Arsinoë. In li, which records a payment by an inhabitant of Theadelphia, the name of the village alone is given.

LI. Receipt for Poll-tax, etc.

Harît. 9·6 × 17·3 *cm.* A.D. 186.

Receipt for the payment by two brothers of poll-tax and ἐπιστατικὸν ἱερέων, the total sum paid amounting to 16 drachmae, no doubt a payment on account (cf. introd. to xlix). The latter of these taxes is also known from xxiii (*a*) (where the full title ἐπιστατικοῦ ἱερέων occurs), B. G. U. 337. 2, 471. 6, and Brit. Mus. Pap. 352. 4. In the three last instances the payers of the tax were priests, and it is possible that the same was the case with the two brothers here. The fact that they were also paying poll-tax does not preclude this possibility, since only a certain number of the priests were exempt; cf. B. G. U. 1. 15, Brit. Mus. Pap. 347. 5–6, Wilcken. *Ost.* I. p. 241. The papyrus is very cursively written.

Ἔτους ἑβδόμου καὶ εἰ[κ]οστοῦ Μάρκου
Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Φαῶ(φι) κγ, διέγρ(αψε) δ̣ι̣(ὰ) Ἀν̣τ̣(ωνίου) καὶ
με(τό)χ(ων) π[ρ]ακ(τόρων) Φ̣ . [.] . ω̣( ) [. . . .] . υ̣ καὶ Ν̣έφρο(μμις) ἀδελ(φὸς)
λαογ(ραφίας) καὶ ἐπιστ(ατικοῦ) ἱερέω(ν) ἑβδόμου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ (ἔτους)
Θεαδελ(φείας) (δραχμὰς) δέκα ἕξ, / (δραχμαὶ) ις.

3. Instead of δι(ὰ) Ἀντ(ωνίου) a name in the dative, perhaps Κάστ(ορι) or Φρα . . ., might be read.

LII. Receipt for Poll-tax.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 8 × 10 *cm.* A.D. 194.

Receipt for 20 drachmae paid for poll-tax by Souchammon, son of Castor.

Ἔτους β Λουκίου Σεπτιμίο(υ)
Σευήρου Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ,
Μεσορὴ ι, ἀριθ(μήσεως) Ἐπίφ, διέγρ(αψε) Σου-
χάμμων Κάστωρος τοῦ Ἡρα-
κλείδου λαογρ(αφίας) β (ἔτους) Θεσμοφο(ρείου)
(δραχμὰς) εἴκοσι, / (δραχμαὶ) κ, π̣ρ̣ο̣σ̣(διαγραφόμενα) χα(λκοῦ) ὀβ(ολοὺς) δέκα.

5. Θεσμοφο(ρείου): the name of an ἄμφοδον at Arsinoë; cf. xlix. 5, l. 5, note.

LII (*a*). Receipt for Poll-tax.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 6·6 × 5·6 *cm.* A.D. 191–2.

Receipt for two payments of eight drachmae on account for poll-tax by a slave. It was already inferred from the fact that in certain circumstances slaves could claim ἐπίκρισις, by which they were exempted from poll-tax (cf. B. G. U. 113. 6, 324, Ox. Pap. II. 257, introd.), that they were in ordinary cases subject to it. But the present is, so far as we are aware, the first actual example of payment of poll-tax by a slave.

Δι(έγραψε) . . . [.]α̣σίων δοῦλος
ὑπ(ὲρ) λα[ο]γ(ραφίας) λβ (ἔτους) Βιθ(υνῶν)

ἐπὶ λ[ό]γου ῥυπ(αρὰς) δραχμ(ὰς)
ὀκτώ, / (δραχμαὶ) η ῥυπ(αραί).
ἄλλας δραχ(μὰς) [ῥυπ(αρὰς)]
ὀκτώ, / (δραχμαὶ) η ῥυ[π(αραί)].

LIII. TAX-RECEIPTS.

Harît. 10·4 × 10·4 *cm.* A.D. 110–1.

This papyrus and the next (liv) are receipts for payments of a variety of taxes, some of which are altogether new or are here attested by Roman papyri for the first time. The payments recorded in the present document fall under six heads: *συντ(άξιμον)*, *φυλ(άκων)*, *ἐπιμερισμὸς ἀπόρων*, *δεσμοφυλ(ακία)*, *δαπ(άνη) διπλ(ῶν?)*, and *ὑική*. The last of these, the *ὑική* or pig-tax, for which 1 drachma 1 obol is here paid (cf. also liv. 7, note), is known from other sources (e.g. Ox. Pap. II. 288); and the *συντάξιμον*, the annual rate of which appears to have been, as in xlv, 44 drachmae 6 chalci (cf. note on 7), has already been discussed in the introduction to that document. Payments *ὑπὲρ φυλ(ακῆς)* or *φυλ(άκων)* and *ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίου φυλ(άκων)* occur in numerous Theban ostraca of the Roman period (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 320), and are clearly to be connected with the *φυλ* of our papyrus. The tax was raised for the maintenance of the *φύλακες*, the local guards or police, and is the Roman equivalent of the *φυλακιτικόν* of the third century B.C. (*ibid.* p. 402). The sum paid is here 1 drachma 2 obols; in the ostraca it ranges from 1 to 2 drachmae. Another tax of an analogous description is the *δεσμοφυλ(ακία)*, of the existence of which this papyrus gives the first intimation. As the name sufficiently implies, this must have been a payment for the support of the public prisons. In the present instance and in cccxvii it amounts to 6 chalci, in liv. 17 to 1 obol. Most probably this is the same tax as that which is found coupled with the *λαογραφία* on a number of ostraca from Elephantine of the second century A.D., the payment on account of it being regularly half an obol. Wilcken (*ibid.* p. 177) gives the name of the tax as *δεσμοῦ*, but offers no explanation of its character. As a matter of fact the name is never written out in these ostraca, the longest form in which it appears being *δεσμο*; and that this should be expanded as *δεσμοφυλακία* (or *δεσμοφυλάκων*) appears on the analogy of the present papyrus extremely probable, notwithstanding the fact that in the twenty-six examples published by Wilcken there is no instance of the longer form. It is especially noticeable that the abbreviation *δεσ*, which occurs in some of his ostraca (e.g. 121, 129), is also found in

liv. 17, where no doubt it is identical with δεσμοφυλ here. In cccxvii a third form, δεσφυλ, appears.

The διπλῶν is another impost hitherto only known from second century ostraca from Upper Egypt, and its meaning is quite obscure. No fresh light is thrown upon it by our papyrus, if indeed the same tax is to be recognized in the δαπ( ) διπλ( ) of line 6. That δαπ is δαπάνη there can be little doubt; but διπλ may stand equally well for διπλώματος, which occurs as the name of a tax (δίπλωμα ὄνων) in B. G. U. 213. 4.

Lastly we have the interesting tax μερισμὸς or ἐπιμερισμὸς (the two forms are found side by side in liv) ἀπόρων. This has previously occurred on a Theban ostracon of A.D. 143, where a payment of 2 drachmae 3 obols ὑπ(ὲρ) μερισμ(οῦ) ἀπόρω(ν) ε (ἔτους) is recorded. In the present instance the sum paid is 2 drachmae ½ obol, presumably a payment on account, since in liv the payments for this tax are much larger—12 drachmae and a fraction in one year, and 12 drachmae in the next. Wilcken (*ibid.* p. 161) explains the tax as a kind of poor-rate contributed for the maintenance of the destitute by their more fortunate neighbours, comparing the system of poor-relief established at Athens (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 49. 4). Some critics may feel disposed to agree with Mommsen that this interpretation 'sounds too good to be true.' But *a priori* improbability, even if the improbability be granted, is a somewhat dangerous argument; and at present we have no alternative theory to suggest.

[Ἔτους τεσσ]αρεσκαιδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νερούα
[Τρα]ιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ, Φαῶφι μετὰ
[λόγο]ν κϛ, διέγρ(αψε) διὰ Φλαυίου Ἡλιοδώρου καὶ Ἀραβίωνος
[πρα]κ̣(τόρων) Βε̣λλῆς ἄλλος μη(τρὸς) τῆς αὐτῆς συντ(αξίμου) τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)
[Θεα]δελφίας (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώι, / (δραχμαὶ) η, φυλ(ακῆς) (δραχμὴ) μία (διώβολον), ἐπιμερισμο(ῦ) ἀπόρω(ν)
[τρισ]κ̣[αι]δεκάτου (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) δύο (ἡμιώβολον), δεσμοφυλ(ακίας) (ἡμιώβολον) χ(αλκοῦς) β, δαπ(άνης) διπλ(ῶν?) (ἡμιώβολον), Ἀθὺ[ρ
[μετὰ λό]γον κϛ̣ (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρες (ἡμιώβολον) χ(αλκοῦς) β, ὑ̣ι̣κ̣ῆς (δραχμὴ) μία (ὀβολός), / (δραχμαὶ) δ
(ἡμιώβολον) χ(αλκοῖ) β, ὑ̣ι̣[κ(ῆς)] (δραχμὴν) α (ὀβολόν), Μεχ̣ε̣ὶρ̣ κε (δραχμὰς) δέκα δύο, / (δραχμαὶ) ιβ, Παχὼν μετὰ λ[όγ(ον)
κγ (δραχμὰς) δέκα δύο, / (δραχμαὶ) ιβ, Ἐπεὶφ μετὰ λόγον κδ (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώι, / [(δραχμαὶ) η.

5. l. (δραχμὴν) μίαν. 7. τέσσαρας . . . (δραχμὴν) μίαν (ὀβολόν).

2–3. Φαῶφι μετὰ [λόγο]ν κϛ: the meaning of the insertion of μετὰ λόγον between the name of the month and the day, which is almost constant in the dates of this papyrus and liv, and also occurs in lvi and cccxvi, is not easy to understand. We have not succeeded in finding parallels elsewhere, or examples of the phrase μετὰ λόγον in any connexion which throw light upon its singular use in these few tax-receipts. It can hardly be an antithesis to ἐπὶ λόγου owing to its position in front of the day of the month.

4. Βελλῆς ἄλλος: this receipt must have been preceded in a previous column by another, issued to a brother of the person here concerned. The left margin of the papyrus is broken away.

5. ἐπιμερισμο(ῦ): so liv. 16, but μερισμοῦ is the commoner form. Wilcken in the addenda to *Ost.* I (p. 821, *ad* p. 161) refers to an unpublished Berlin papyrus (Pap. 7079), in which he read ἐπικε(φαλαίου) ἀπόρων. The possibility suggests itself that there too ἐπιμε(ρισμοῦ) is the true reading.

6. δεσμοφυλ(ακίας) (ἡμιώβολον): the sign which we have taken to represent ½ obol here and in ll. 7 and 8, being simply the square sign (L) meaning ½, is not formed in the same way as the other symbol used twice in this line which certainly stand for ἡμιώβολον. It is possible that we should here understand a half drachma; but if this was intended the sign for three obols would instead be expected. Moreover there are parallels for a square symbol representing ½ obol, e.g. xlv. 8, lvi. 7, Ox. Pap. II. 288. 3; and two different ways of writing ½ obol occur side by side in liv; cf. note on liv. 13.

7. The 4 drachmae 6 chalci mentioned at the beginning of this line, and the payments recorded for Mecheir, Pachon and Epeiph in lines 8–9, the purpose of which is not directly specified, were apparently for the συντάξιμον. On the assumption that the payments for the year were complete, i.e. that nothing further was owing for Mesore, the annual rate of the συντάξιμον thus works out at 44 drachmae and a fraction, the same result as is given by xlv and liv.

LIV. Tax-Receipt.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 22·5 × 8·7 *cm.* A.D. 117–18.

The following receipt, like its predecessor (liii), is of a miscellaneous character, acknowledging payments from a certain Onnophris on account of no less than seven different taxes. Several of these, the συντάξιμον, ὑική, μερισμὸς ἀπόρων, and δεσμοφυλακία, occurred also in liii and have already been discussed. The remaining three are taxes for ἱερα(τικά), μαγδῶλα, and ποτ(αμοί). Of the tax called ἱερα(τικά) the first instance has already been supplied by xlii (*a*). II. 7; but of its character no more is at present known than is implied by its name. The tax for μαγδῶλα (or μαγδωλοφύλακες), for which 2½ obols are here paid, has not been found previously; the same payment for this tax also occurs in cccxvii of this volume. The μαγδῶλα, as was explained in xxxviii. 5 note, were watch-towers or guard-houses, and the tax was of course raised for the purpose of their maintenance. The precise name of the tax here written ποτ is uncertain; in cccxvii ποτ is preceded by a word which seems to

be επιστ, i.e. ἐπιστατικοῦ or ἐπιστάσεως. But whatever the full form may be, there is not much doubt that this is the Fayûm equivalent of the tax for the maintenance of ποταμοφυλακίδες or government guard-boats stationed upon the Nile and canals, an impost which is known from a number of Upper Egyptian ostraca of the first and second centuries (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 282). The payments mentioned in the ostraca range from 4 obols to 6 drachmae 5 obols. In this papyrus only 1 obol is paid, in cccxvii 1½ obols. Presumably these small sums are only payments on account; though it would not be surprising if the rate of the tax were lower in the Fayûm than on the banks of the Nile.

Ἔτους δευτέρου Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρος
Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, Φαῶφι
μετὰ λ(όγον) ις· μὴ προσχρή(σῃ) ἑτέρωι συμβόλ(ῳ).
διέγρ(αψε) διὰ Μάρω(νος) καὶ Σ[α]βείνου πρακ(τόρων)
Ὀννῶφρις Ἡρωδι[αν]οῦ το(ῦ) Πισάιτος
μητρὸ(ς) Χάριτος συν[τ(αξίμου)] τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ἔτους Εὐημε(ρείας)
ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτῶι, / (δραχμαὶ) η (ἡμιώβολον) χ(αλκοῖ) β, [ὑι]κ(ῆς)
α (ὀβολόν), ἱερα(τικῶν) (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον),
Χοίακ κβ δι[ὰ] Σαβείνου ἄλλας ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτῶι,
γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) η, Φαμε(νὼθ) μετὰ λ(όγον) κγ διὰ
Πεκύσιο(ς) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτῶι, / (δραχμαὶ) η, Παχὼ(ν)
μετὰ λ(όγον) κ ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτῶι, / (δραχμαὶ) η,
Παῦνι μετὰ λ(όγον) ις ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτῶι, / (δραχμαὶ) η,
μαγ(δώ)λ(ων) (διώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον), μερισμοῦ ἀπόρων π[ρώτ]ου
ἔτους ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ὀκ[τ]ῶι, / (δραχμαὶ) η (ὀβολὸς) . . , Ἐπεὶφ μετὰ
λόγον κζ ἀργυρίο(υ) δραχ(μὰς) τέσσαρες, / (δραχμαὶ) δ,
ἐπιμ(ερισμοῦ) ἀπόρω(ν) β (ἔτους) ἀργυρίο(υ) δραχ(μὰς) ὀκτώ,
/ (δραχμαὶ) η, δεσ(μοφυλακίας) (ὀβολόν), ποτ(αμῶν?) (ὀβολόν), Μεσορὴ
μετὰ λ(όγον) κθ μερισμοῦ ἀπόρω(ν) γ (τριώβολον) χ(αλκοῦς) β, / γ
(τριώβολον) χ(αλκοῖ) β.

3. μὴ προσχρή(σῃ) κ.τ.λ.: cf. xlvii (*a*). 6, 10, B. G. U. 66 διέγρ(αψεν) [Ἀ]πίων καὶ μέτοχ(οι) πράκ(τορες) . . . καὶ μὴ χρησάμενος ἑ[τέρ]ῳ συνβόλ(ῳ), 214 διέγρ(αψαν) . . . Στοτοῦῆ(τις) . . . καὶ Παπεῖς . . . μὴ προσχρησάμενοι ἑτέρῳ συνβόλῳ διὰ τὸ φάσκειν παραπεπτωκέναι, and Brit. Mus. Pap. 316 (*a*), where the words are the same as in B. G. U. 214 with the subj. προσχρήσῃ instead of the participle. A similar formula is found on ostraca (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 79), usually running (with small variations) τῷ πρότερον γρα(φέντι) μὴ χρήσῃ. This is clearly, as Wilcken explains, an injunction not to use a former receipt which was cancelled

by the new one that had taken its place. The formula of the papyri, on the other hand, he wishes to interpret as a notice to the effect that a second receipt would not be issued. This seems hardly satisfactory; the two sets of phrases are so much alike that one explanation ought to cover them both. Moreover the sense given to the papyrus formula is not very apt. To tell a person not to use another (hypothetical) receipt is hardly equivalent to an intimation that no other would be given. The intention of the official no doubt was to protect himself against fraud; and his meaning in all cases appears to be 'This receipt only is valid.' διὰ τὸ φάσκειν παραπεπτωκέναι on this view refers to a previous receipt, and explains why in the particular case the remark μὴ προσχρήσῃ κ.τ.λ. was necessary. The former receipt was alleged by the recipient to be faulty; a new one was therefore issued, which cancelled its predecessor.

7. The half-obol and two chalci were for some reason omitted after ἀκτῶι: cf. 14, note. On the rate of the συντάξιμον cf. note on liii. 7. Here too, one of the payments for the tax is 8 drachmae 6 chalci, and the total amount, assuming that the sums of 8 and 4 drachmae in lines 8–14, the purpose of which is not expressly stated, were for the συντάξιμον, is 44 drachmae 6 chalci.

[ὑι]κ(ῆς): the sum paid for the tax is the same as in liii. 7, ccxxx and cccxvii. Is this identity a coincidence, or was the ὑικὴ simply a licence for keeping pigs, so that the amount paid did not vary according to the number of animals kept? In support of the latter alternative it may be noticed that no returns of pigs, like those of sheep and goats, have as yet been discovered. On the other hand from the single Theban receipt for this tax published by Wilcken (*Ost.* II. no. 1031), which acknowledges payment of τέλος δελφακίτος μιᾶς, the natural inference is that the amount was relative to the number of the pigs.

13. μαγ(δῶ)λ(ων): there is no doubt about the name which is confirmed by cccxvii, where the same sum, 2½ obols, is paid for μαγδωλ( ). There is of course the possibility that we should write μαγδωλοφυλάκων; a μαγδωλοφύλαξ occurs in cviii. 13, and a payment for ὀψωνίου μαγδωλοφυλ(άκων) is found in a tax-receipt from Tebtunis.

The sign for ἡμιώβολον is here S; in 7 it was written 𝛓: cf. liii. 6, note.

π[ρώτ]ου: it would also be possible to read τοῦ αὐτ]οῦ, with α (ἔτους) in 16; but the numeral there is more like β.

14. Here as in 7 the amounts before and after the sign for 'total' do not exactly correspond. After the symbol representing ὀβολός is another symbol or letter, above and to the right of which is something like a β or the sign for ⅔. Possibly the scribe first wrote 1½ obols and corrected this to 1⅔ obols.

16. ἐπιμ(ερισμοῦ): but μερισμοῦ in 13 and 18; cf. liii. 5, note.

LV. Taxes on Land.

Harit. 14·3 × 6·3 *cm.* A.D. 136.

A receipt for a number of different taxes on land, paid by a woman, Thermouth(ion). The papyrus is very cursively written, with many abbreviations, and the difficulties of interpretation are increased by the obliteration of the ink in parts.

The various taxes fall into two classes, those in lines 7–9, which are paid in copper obols (cf. lvi), and the γεωμετρία in line 11, which is paid in silver drachmae.

Of the taxes in the first class the names of three, παραδ(είσων), ἐλαι(ώνων), and ναυβ(ίου), are certain, those of the other four are doubtful. On the meaning of the ναύβιον tax see introd. to xli. With which of the various taxes on land are we to connect the payments for παράδεισοι and ἐλαιῶνες? On the difficult question of the varying forms which the land-tax pure and simple assumed in Egypt see Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 195 sqq. He there combines the taxes (1) ὑπὲρ ἀμπελώνων, φοινικώνων (to which may be added ὑπὲρ παραδείσων, ἐλαιώνων, &c.); (2) ὑπὲρ γεωμετρίας (with or without the addition ἀμπελώνων, παραδείσων, &c.); (3) ὑπὲρ τόπου; (4) ἐπαρούριον; (5) ἐπιγραφή, as all forms of one general tax upon land. Over and above this land-tax, which in some form was paid by all landowners, there were numerous other taxes upon land, such as the ἀπόμοιρα upon ἀμπελῶνες and παράδεισοι, and in the Roman period perhaps upon ἐλαιῶνες as well (Brit. Mus. Pap. 195 (*a*), cf. introd. to xli); the τέλος οἴνου, which fell on owners of ἀμπελῶνες (Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 270); the ναύβιον tax which seems to have been general; besides the ἀριθμητικόν, φόρος φυτῶν (xlii. 12), and other obscure taxes which were apparently connected with the ownership of land.

The interpretation of the taxes mentioned in the present papyrus depends on the view taken of γεωμετρία in line 11. We proceed first on the hypothesis that Wilcken is right and that γεωμετρία means land-tax. Unfortunately since we know neither upon which kind of land it was levied, nor for which year, we are ignorant what relation this γεωμετρία bears to the preceding payments. The fact, however, that it was paid in silver, while the others are all in copper, raises the supposition that there is some marked difference. On the other hand, putting aside for a moment the question of the meaning of εἰδῶν in line 6, the payments for παραδείσων and ἐλαιώνων look like ordinary payments of land-tax on fruit-producing and oil-producing land. Moreover, if εἰδῶν in line 6 has the meaning which it undoubtedly often has elsewhere, e.g. in the common phrase in leases καθαρὸν ἀπὸ παντὸς εἴδους, and is a vague term for τέλος, applying in a general way to lines 7 sqq., its occurrence creates no objection to the view that the payments in line 7 are for land-tax. But the meaning of εἰδῶν in line 6 is unfortunately far from certain, for in connexion with taxes on land εἰδῶν is frequently found in a limited sense and carefully distinguished from the γεωμετρία. B. G. U. 572–4 are fragments of a taxing list concerning ἀμπελῶνες, παράδεισοι, and ἐλαιῶνες, and in several cases the same piece of land is subject to four taxes, (1) εἰδῶν, (2) γεωμετρίας, (3) ν(αυβίου) (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. p. 150[1]), (4) η, the meaning of which is uncertain (cf. cclxiii). In Brit. Mus. Pap. 451 is a list of payments for various taxes connected with land, beginning with ἀριθμ(ητικοῦ) κατοίκων (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. p. 147) followed by ἄλλων?] εἰδῶν καὶ γεωμετρίας, and (after two unintelligible lines) concluding with payments for ναύβιον,

προσ(διαγραφόμενα), κόλ(λυβος), and συμ(βολικά). In both these cases the payments for εἰδῶν are clearly distinguished from payments for γεωμετρία or land-tax, and in lxiv. 4 we have a payment for εἰδῶν ἐλαικῶν (written -κον), perhaps coupled with another tax; but their actual nature is obscure. It is hardly likely that so vague a term as εἰδῶν expresses a peculiar tax, and therefore we might suppose that under εἰδῶν are perhaps included such payments as the ἀπόμοιρα, which was much less than the γεωμετρία (cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. 195 (*a*), 7, 9, with B. G. U. 572. 7, where the εἰδῶν is 200 dr., the γεωμετρία 538 dr.).

It seems therefore on the whole most probable that, if by γεωμετρία in line 11 the ordinary land-tax is meant, the payments for παραδείσων and ἐλαιώνων, which come under the head of εἰδῶν and are contrasted with γεωμετρία, are different from ordinary land-tax; and this view is supported by a comparison of this papyrus with ccxviii, in which εἰδῶν, &c., recur. Owing to the mutilated condition of that document no certain conclusion can be drawn from it, but apparently the sums which come under the heading εἰδῶν are paid, as here, in copper obols, and the γεωμετρία is again the subject of a separate entry at the end, and is paid in silver.

But, as Kenyon has remarked (*Class. Rev.* xiv. p. 171), payments for γεωμετρία simply (as here) may be for the re-survey of land, and in that case there would be no reason for explaining the payments for παραδείσων and ἐλαιώνων, which come under the head of εἰδῶν, as anything but ordinary land-tax.

Ἔτο[υς] εἰκοστοῦ Αὐτ[οκράτορος
Καίσαρος Τρ[αιανοῦ
Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Φαμενὼθ [. .,
διέγρ(αψε) διὰ Ἥρωνος καὶ μετό(χων) [πρακ(τόρων)
Θερμουθ(ίου) Σεύθ(ου) δι(ὰ) Χαιρᾶ(τος) . [. .
εἰδῶν ἐννεακαιδεκ[άτου (ἔτους)
παραδ(είσων) χ(αλκοῦ) (ὀβολοὺς) Ἄψπε, ἐλαι(ώνων) χ(αλκοῦ) (ὀβολοὺς) ρ[. .,
ναυβ(ίου) χ(αλκοῦ) (ὀβολοὺς) ρϙ, τα( ) χ(αλκοῦ) (ὀβολοὺς) υλε, ἐπ . [
χ(αλκοῦ) (ὀβολοὺς) Ἀρϙ, πε . ρ( ) χ(αλκοῦ) (ὀβολοὺς) ξε, σ(υμβολικὰ)
χ(αλκοῦ) (ὀβολοὺς) γ.
ἡ αὐτὴ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
γεωμετρία[ς . . . .
ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) δέκα πέ[ντε . . . .

5. Chaeras is the agent of Thermouthion; cf. line 10 and lvii. 3–4, where as here διὰ is used with a different meaning in two successive lines.

6. It is possible, though not at all likely, that a sum is lost at the end of this line. But [ατου (ἔτους) is sufficient, and in ccxviii also εἰδῶν appears to be a general description.

7. χ(αλκοῦ) (ὀβολούς): written χ⁻ in this papyrus and in lvi. 7 after συμβολ(ικά). Elsewhere in lvi it is written χ̊.

8. ἐπ .[: possibly ἐπα(ρουρίου) (cf. introd. to xli) should be read, or conceivably ἐπαρο(υρίου) is the tax in the next line. But in neither case does that word suit the vestiges very well. We should expect to find ἀμπελῶνες or φοινικῶνες somewhere in the list, but they do not occur.

9. The doubtful γ at the end of the line can equally well be read τ, in which case the resolution σ(υμβολικά) (cf. introd. to xli) is probably wrong, for the amounts paid for giving the receipt are elsewhere quite trifling.

LVI. Tax-Receipt.

Harit. 11·2 × 8·8 *cm.* A.D. 106.

A receipt for ναύβιον κατ(οίκων) and minor taxes connected with it all paid in copper obols, followed by an entry of a payment in silver 'for κάτ(οικοι).' On the meaning of ναύβιον and the taxes associated with it see introd. to xli; cf. also lvii, where the payment being only 1 drachma and a fraction was, though formally silver, also probably paid in copper, and lv. 8, where the ναύβιον was paid in copper obols. The conjunction of κατοίκων with ναύβιον means that the person who paid the tax was a κάτοικος, but what relation such contributions for this tax had to those of persons who were not κάτοικοι is unknown.

For the tax ὑπὲρ κατοίκων simply cf. lxxxiii. 8, lxxxiv. 9 and introd. to lxxxi. Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 379) supposes that this impost (which is elsewhere uniformly paid in kind), was the land-tax upon κατοίκοι, and with this view we agree. In the present instance, however, the payment ὑπὲρ κάτοικων is made in money. Perhaps the land was of the nature of vineyards or gardens on which the land-tax was paid in money, not in kind (cf. Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 199), but in that case we should have expected a more precise designation of the tax. The reading κατ(οίκων) can hardly be evaded, since the abbreviation in line 8 is identical with that in line 5, where κατ(οίκων) is certain; cf. introd. to xli.

At the bottom of the papyrus is the beginning of another receipt in the same hand, from which we have supplied the number of the year lost in line 1. The writing is on the vertical fibres of the *recto*.

Ἔτους [ἐνάτου Αὐτοκ]ράτορ[ος
[Καίσ]αρ[ο]ς Νερούα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
Γερ[μα]ν[ι]κοῦ . [. . .] . . . [. .], Φ[αμ]ενὼ[θ
μετ(ὰ λόγον) ι, δ(ιέγραψε) διὰ Φλαουί[ο]υ Ἡλιοδ(ώρου) καὶ Ἀραβ(ίωνος)

πρακ(τόρων) Ἑλένῃ Μ . . [. . .]ρος ναυβ(ίου) κατ(οίκων)
τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) Θεαδ(ελφείας) χ(αλκοῦ) ὀ(βολοὶ) τριακόσιοι, προσδ(ιαγραφόμενα)
χ(αλκοῦ) ὀ(βολοὶ) λ, κολ(λύβου) χ(αλκοῦ) ὀ(βολοὶ) ι, συμβολ(ικὰ) χ(αλκοῦ) (ὀβολοὶ) α (ἥμισυ), καὶ ὑπὲρ
κατ(οίκων) Θεαδ(ελφείας) ῥυπ(αροῦ) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) δέκα δύο, γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ιβ.

6. l. ὀβολοὺς τριακοσίους, so in 7 and 8.

3. There is room for more than Δακικοῦ after Γερμανικοῦ, and the three letters visible between the two lacunae do not suit any part of Δακικοῦ.

4. μετ(ὰ λόγου) ι, δ(ιέγραψε): cf. note on liii. 3. Perhaps ιδ should be read, διέγραψε being omitted. There is no abbreviation mark after δ, but on the other hand ι has a stroke over it, and δ has not. Φλαουί[ο]υ Ἡλιοδ(ώρου) καὶ Ἀραβ(ίωνος): cf. liii. 3.

7. The numbers of the obols, 30 for προσδιαγραφόμενα and 10 for κολλύβος, are the same as those in Brit. Mus. Pap. 451, where the sum paid for ναύβιον is lost and it is not stated to which denomination the numbers 30 and 10 belong. Probably therefore obols are meant in that papyrus also; cf. lv. 8 and ccxxvi. The κόλλυβος may have had something to do with the payment being in copper. Here and in lvii. 5 the κόλλυβος is $\frac{1}{30}$ of the ναύβιον, but elsewhere different proportions are found; cf. xli. II. 14 and cxciii.

The sign for half an obol here is like the ordinary sign for a half; cf. liii. 6, note.

LVII. Tax-Receipt.

Ûmm el 'Atl. Gizeh Inv. no. 10225. 12·5 × 11·5 *cm.* A.D. 164.

A receipt for ναύβιον κατ(οίκων) and minor taxes like lvi. The sums paid amount to less than 2 drachmae in all. At the end is inserted a payment of 100 drachmae for some other tax, the name of which is uncertain.

Ἔτους πέμπτου Ἀντωνείνου καὶ Ο[ὐήρου
τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν, Θῶθ θ, [διέγρ(αψε)
διὰ Ἀπολ(λωνίου) καὶ μετόχ(ων) πρακ(τόρων) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Βαχ(χιάδος) Ἀλέξ[ανδρος
Ζωίλου δι(ὰ) Χαιρᾶτος ναυβ(ίου) κα̣τ̣(οίκων) τετάρτ[ου (ἔτους)
(δραχμὴ) μία (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιώβολον), / (δραχμὴ) α (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιώβολον), προ(σδιαγραφόμενα) χ(αλκοῖ) β, κολ(λύβου) χ(αλκοῖ) β, σ(υμβολικά).
[ὑ]π(ὲρ) ι̣λ̣( ) ἑκατόν, γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ρ, π̣ρ̣[ο(σδιαγραφόμενα)] δύο (ἡμιώβολον), / (δραχμαὶ) β (ἡμιώβολον).

5. l. (δραχμὴν) μίαν, &c.

4. δι(ὰ) Χαιρᾶτος: Chaeras was the agent of the taxpayer; cf. lvi. 5.

κατ(οίκων): in our copy of the text we have κθ, but the parallel receipt, lvi, shows that this must be wrong, and probably the papyrus has κατ, rather than κοι (cf. introd. to xli). In either case κατοίκων is no doubt meant.

5. Though the payment it not stated to be in copper (cf. lvi, where it is), in practice copper (or lead, cf. p. 73) must have been used, for there was hardly any Roman silver of a lower denomination than a tetradrachm, and certainly none for fractions of a drachma. On κόλλυβοι cf. note on lvi. 7 and introd. to xli.

6. A comparison of this papyrus with lvi suggests that [ὑ]π(ὲρ) κατ(οίκων) should be read here, but the vestiges do not seem consistent with κατ.

LVIII. Taxes on Weaving.

Harl. 13·1 × 5·3 *cm.* A.D. 155–6.

The two following receipts are concerned with the tax, which in the one case is described as the κοπὴ καὶ θρὶξ καὶ χιρονάξιον, in the other as κοπ(ὴ) καὶ χι(ρωνάξιον). Two other receipts similar to these are extant, Gr. Pap. II. lx and B. G. U. 617, in both of which the name of the tax is written κοπῆς τριχὸς καὶ χειρωναξίου. The present text by the insertion of καί after κοπῆς shows that the genitive τριχός does not depend upon the preceding substantive, but that the three names κοπή, θρίξ, and χειρωνάξιον are parallel. In Gr. Pap. II. lx and B. G. U. 617 the payers of the tax are in both cases weavers; and it is hence inferred by Wilcken that the names κοπή and θρίξ belong to the terminology of the weaver's trade. That the payers of the tax here and in lix were also weavers is not stated, though it is of course possible. But in any case the tax must apparently be distinguished from the ordinary γερδιακόν (cf. introd. to xlviii). The rate seems to have been high; 20 drachmae on account are paid in Gr. Pap. II. lx, and 38 drachmae for a whole year according to the Berlin text. In the present instances the sums are smaller, 6 drachmae 5½ obols and 13 drachmae and a fraction, but these are probably only part payments.

Ἔτους ἐννεακ[αιδεκάτο]υ
Ἀντωνείν[ο]υ Καίσαρος
τοῦ κυ[ρίου . . . .
διέγραψεν Ἀμμω-
νίῳ καὶ Πτολε(μαίῳ)
καὶ τοῖς λοι(ποῖς) ἐγλήμπτ(ορσι)
κοπ(ῆς) καὶ τριχ(ὸς) καὶ χι-
ροναξίου δ . [. .] . . [. .] .
Ἡρακλείδ(ης) Ἡ(ρακλείδου) ὑπὲρ χιρο-
ναξίου τοῦ ιθ (ἔτους)
ἀργυρίο(υ) δραχμὰς
ἓξ πεντώ[β(ολον) ἡμ[ιώβ(ολον),
γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ϛ (πεντώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον).

'The 19th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord . . . Paid to Ammonius and Ptolemaeus and the rest of the farmers of the tax on cutting and hair and trade . . . by Heraclides, son of Heraclides, on account of the tax on trade for the 19th year six drachmae five and a half obols of silver, total 6 dr. 5½ ob.'

6. ἐγλήμπτ(ορσι): so in lix. 3, Gr. Pap. lx. 3, where ἐγλήμπτορσ(ι) is to be read (ἐγλήμπτορο(ι) Kenyon, *Class. Rev.* xiv. p. 172, but the dative plural is required). In B. G. U. 617 they are called μισθωταί.

8. The mutilated word is perhaps a place name.

9. ὑπὲρ χιρωναξίου: so too in lix. 5.

LIX. Taxes on Weaving.

Harit. 8·4 × 8·7 *cm.* A.D. 178.

A receipt for 13 drachmae and a fraction paid by Dionysius, son of Didymus, to the tax-farmer of the κοπ(ῆ) καὶ χι(ρωνάξιον); see introd. to the preceding papyrus.

Ἔτους ιη [Αὐ]ρηλίων Ἀν[τω]νίνου καὶ
Κομόδου τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν, Ἐπεὶφ
ϛ, διέγρ(αψε) Σαραπίωνι ἐγλ(ήμπτορι) κοπ(ῆς) καὶ χι(ρωναξίου)
Διονύσιο(ς) Διδύ(μου) ἀπὸ ἀμφόδ(ου) Λινυφε[ί]ω(ν)
[. . .]β( ) ἐν κώ(μῃ) Θεαδ(ελφείᾳ) ὑπ(ὲρ) χι(ρωναξίου) τ[ο]ῦ αὐ[τοῦ
[(ἔτους)] ἐπὶ λ(όγου) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώ, / (δραχμαὶ) η. (2nd hand) *καὶ ιθ (ἔτους), Ἀθὺρ ιγ,*
[διέγ]ρ(αψεν) [ὑπ]ὲρ τοῦ διελ[η]λυθότος ιη (ἔτους) διὰ Ἰσιδώρου βοηθοῦ ἄλλας δραχμὰς πέν[τε
[. . . .]βολον ἡμιωβέλιον.

7. [ὑπ]ὲρ . . . (ἔτους) inserted above line.

'The 18th year of the Aurelii Antoninus and Commodus the lords Augusti, Epeiph 6. Paid to Sarapion, farmer of the tax on cutting and trade, by Dionysius, son of Didymus, of the Linen-factories' quarter, living at the village of Theadelphia, for the trade-tax of the same year, eight drachmae of silver on account, total 8 dr. Also in the 19th year, Athur 13, paid on account of the preceding 18th year, through Isidorus, assistant, five drachmae . . . obols and a half more.'

5. The mutilated word at the beginning of the line may be either a participle having the sense of καταγινόμενος or part of the name of the ἄμφοδον. In the former case the ἄμφοδον would be at Arsinoë (where an ἄμφοδον Λινυφείων is well known), in the latter at Theadelphia. There is not room for [διατρί]β(ων), and the uncompounded [τρί]β(ων) is unlikely.

7. βοηθοῦ: cf. note on xxxiv. 3.

LX. Receipt.

Wadfa. 9·5 × 13·3 *cm.* A.D. 149.

Receipt for a payment of 160 drachmae (?) for *φόρος φοινίκων* (or *φοινικῶνος*) in connexion with the *Ἀντωνιανὴ οὐσία*, which was part of the imperial domain land (cf. note on xl. 7). The *Ἀντωνιανὴ οὐσία* is elsewhere coupled with Socnopaei Nesus (B. G. U. 212, &c.); here, however, the land in question was evidently situated in the neighbourhood of Philoteris. No doubt this *οὐσία* comprised estates which were widely separated. It is not quite clear whether the payment here recorded was on account of a tax or simply rent; the term *φόρος* includes both meanings. In two of Wilcken's ostraca (1446 and 1536, the latter of the second century B.C.) *φόρος φοινίκων* occurs, perhaps in both cases in the sense of rent; but the formula of those two receipts is different from that of the present papyrus. There are however indications that this document also is not strictly to be described as a tax-receipt. The payment is connected with an imperial estate; and the payer is apparently called a *μισθωτής*. Probably he was a *δημόσιος γεωργός*.

Ἔτου[ς] τρισκαι[δε]κάτου Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρος Κ[αίσ]αρος
Τίτου Α[ἰλ]ίου Ἀδ[ρι]ανοῦ Ἀντω[νίνο]υ Σεβ[αστο]ῦ
Εὐσεβ[οῦς], μη(νὸς) Ἀδριαν[ο]ῦ α, εἰς ἀρ[ίθ(μησιν)] Ἀθύρ, [διέγ]ρ(αψε)
[. . . . . Ἥ]ρωνος φόρου φοινεἰκ(ων) ῡ[. .]οπ( ) μεγαλο . [. .]ο( )
[Φιλωτ]ερίδος μισθ(ωτὴς ?) Πτολεμαίου Κρονίου δω[δ]ε-
[κάτου] ἔτους Ἀντωνιανῆ(ς) οὐσ(ίας) [ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς)] ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα,
/ [ρ]ξ, σ(υμβολικὰ) (τριώβολον ?).

'The 13th year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, the first of the month Hadrianus, for the account of Athur. Paid by . . . son of Heron, lessee of Ptolemaeus, son of Cronius, for the rent of date palms . . . at Philoteris on account of the Antonian estate for the 12th year one hundred and sixty (drachmae of silver), total 160; for the receipt, 3 obols.'

4. We suppose the name of the payer of the tax to have stood in the lacuna, and *μισθ(ωτής)* in 5 to be in apposition to the lost nominative. An alternative method would be to read *[διὰ Ἡ]ρωνος* in 4 and *Πτολεμαῖος* in 5; but though not much remains of the final letter of the latter name, it seems impossible to reconcile the vestiges with any other letter than *υ*. Ptolemaeus was perhaps himself an *οὐσιακὸς μισθωτής* and sublet his land. In the latter part of line 4 the land upon which the payment was made was defined. We should perhaps read *ὑ[κ]οπ(έδου)* (for *οἰ[κ]οπέδου*) *μεγάλο(υ) λ[εγ]ο(μένου)*. *κ]ώ(μης)* is not possible at the end of the line.

7. *σ(υμβολικὰ) (τριώβολον)*: the reading is doubtful. The supposed *σ* may be *ο*, and the symbol which we take to represent 3 obols is not formed in quite the usual manner.

LXI. Payment for Use of Pastures.

Kaṣr el Banât. 12·2 × 10·7 *cm.* A.D. 233.

The following papyrus acknowledges the receipt of 48 drachmae *ὑπὲρ φόρ(ου) νομῶν*. Similar payments are found in B. G. U. 199, 345, 810; and they are evidently to be explained as made for the use of public pastures, whether belonging to the government or part of the imperial private estates. In Ptolemaic ostraca payments for this purpose are described as *εἰς τὰς νομάς* or *ἐννόμιον* (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 191–2, 265–6), though the latter term also occurs in the Roman period (xlii (*a*). II. 12, B. G. U. 485. 1). The amount paid depended, as might be expected, upon the number of animals using the pasture.

This document, again, is not strictly speaking a tax-receipt, though the sum is paid to the regular collectors of taxes.

Ἔτους ιβ Αὐ[τοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σ[εουήρου
Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦ[ς Εὐτυχοῦς
Σεβαστοῦ, Φαρμοῦθι ζ, [διέγρ(αψε) διὰ
Αὐρηλ(ίου) Διοσκόρου καὶ μ(ετόχων) πρα[κ(τόρων)] ἀ[ργ(υρικῶν)
κώ(μης) Φιλωτερίδος Αὐρήλ(ιος) Σερῆ[νος
[[ποιμὴν]] ὑπὲρ φόρ(ου) ν[ο]μῶν
δραχμ(ὰς) τεσσεράκοντα ὀκτώ,
/ (δραχμαὶ) μη.

'The twelfth year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Pharmouthi 7. Paid through Aurelius Dioscorus and partners, collectors of money taxes of the village of Philoteris, by Aurelius Serenus as rent for pastures forty-eight drachmae, total 48 dr.'

5. *καὶ μ(ετόχων) πρα[κ(τόρων)]*: *πράκτορες* have not previously appeared in connexion with the *φόροι νομῶν*. In B. G. U. 345 payment is made through *πρεσβύτεροι κώμης*.

7. In B. G. U. 199 the *νομαί* belonged to the imperial domains. This is not stated in the present text, but is probable enough, especially as lx shows that part of the *Ἀντωνιανὴ οὐσία* was situated at Philoteris. On the subject of the *νομαί* of Philoteris B. G. U. 478–480 are of considerable interest. Those documents are returns from the *ἐπιτηρηταὶ νομῶν* at Philoteris to the *βιβλιοφύλακες δημοσίων λόγων* stating that there had been no income from the pastures between given dates, there being no animals in the village. In the light of what we now know concerning the size and position of Philoteris (see p. 62) this deficiency is hardly surprising.

LXII. Receipt for Tax on the Sale of a Cow.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 8·3 × 7·3 *cm.* A.D. 134.

A receipt for payment of the tax on a cow, which had lately been bought for 44 drachmae. It appears on the whole more probable that this payment, the amount of which is not given, was made on account of the *ἐγκύκλιον*, or tax upon sales and mortgages, than that it was for the regular tax levied upon bulls and cows, which is otherwise called *φόρος βοῶν* (B. G. U. 25. 8; cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. 460, where *βο(ῶν)* is probably to be read in ll. 3 and 5). The addition of the details concerning the purchase and the price, which occupy the greater part of the receipt, are superfluous if the ordinary cattle-tax is intended; and the fact that the payment was made in the market-place also points to the *ἐγκύκλιον*. The *ἐγκύκλιον*, which in the Roman period as in the later Ptolemaic, was 10 per cent. of the price (Ox. Pap. II. p. 190), is sometimes described in bankers' dockets simply as the *τέλος* of the object sold. But a more definite statement would be expected in a formal receipt.

Ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου Τραιανοῦ
Ἁδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Τῦβι κε̣,
ἐν ἀγορᾷ Κερκεσούχ(ων), διέγρ(αψε) τέλος
βοὸς Σαβείνη Νεφερᾶ ἧς ἐώνη-
ται παρὰ Πετεωῦτος τοῦ Ἡρα-
κλήου ἀπὸ Σότρ[ε]ως τιμ[ῆ]ς
ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) τεσσαράκοντα τεσσάρων,
γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) μδ.

'The 18th year of Trajanus Hadrianus Caesar the lord, Tubi 25, in the market-place of Kerkesucha. Paid by Sabina, daughter of Nepheras, the tax upon a cow bought by her from Peteous, son of Heracleus, of Sotris, at the price of forty-four drachmae of silver, total 44 dr.'

6. *Σότρ[ε]ως* must be a place-name: it does not appear to be known from other sources.

LXIII. Receipt for Payment on Wine.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 12·9 × 7·5 *cm.* A.D. 240.

Receipt for a payment of 400 drachmae by a wine-merchant. The character of the receipt is not quite certain. We should have supposed that it referred to a private transaction, and that the 400 drachmae were the price of

wine that had been purchased, were it not for the apparent necessity, on the analogy of Pap. Gen. II. 77, of reading ἀπὸ τελ(έσματος ?) in the lacuna of line 9. The Geneva papyrus is a receipt following a formula precisely similar (with the omission of κατέβαλε) to that of the present document, and also acknowledges the payment of a large sum, nearly 300 drachmae. This payment according to M. Nicole's reading is described as ἀπὸ τελ(έσματος) οἴνου γενήματος ιη (ἔτους). ἀπὸ τελ(έσματος) here can hardly have the meaning of ὑπὲρ τιμῆς. The fact that the payments are in both receipts made through a χειριστής (cf. note on l. 7), is also rather in favour of connecting them with the τέλος οἴνου, on which cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 270.

Ἔτ[ους] γ Αὐτοκράτορος
Καί[σαρ]ος Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου
Γορδ[ιανο]ῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
Σεβ[αστοῦ], Ἐπεὶφ ιδ, κατέβαλ(εν)
εἰς τ[ὸν Ἀ]ντωνίου Φιλοξένου
τοῦ [. . .] . τιστου λόγον διὰ Αὐρηλ(ίου)
Νεμεσ[ια]νοῦ χειριστοῦ Χρυσᾶς
οἰνοπ[ώλ]ης κώμης Εὐημερίας
ἀ[πὸ τελ(έσματος ?) οἴ]νου γενή(ματος) β (ἔτους) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) τε-
τρακοσίας, / (δραχμαὶ) υ.

8. First ε of ευημεριας corr.

'The third year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph 14. Paid over to the account of Antonius Philoxenus through Aurelius Nemesianus, agent, by Chrysas, wine-merchant of the village of Euhemeria, on account of the payment for wine of the produce of the second year, four hundred drachmae of silver, total 400 dr.'

4. κατέβαλ(εν): καταβάλλειν, though found at all periods in the sense of διαγράφειν, is especially characteristic of Byzantine papyri; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 89.

6. [. . .] . τιστου: the first τ may be γ. [φρο]ντιστοῦ might be read, but it is uncertain whether the mutilated word is a title or the name of Philoxenus' father.

7. χειριστοῦ: judging by the order of the words, Nemesianus is more probably acting for the recipient than for the payer; cf. lvi. 5, lvii. 4. A χειριστής is also the intermediary in Pap. Gen. II. 77 (read Ἀπεὶ χειριστοῦ for Ἀπειχειρήτου in l. 2, and Τεσενοῦφι{ο}ς οἰνοπώλ(ης) in the following line). χειρισταί sometimes appear as assistants to collectors of taxes (cf. Pap. Gen. I. 17 χιριστὴς π[ρ]ακτόρων ἀργυρικῶν), as well as to higher officials.

LXIV. Receipt for Taxes on Oil.

Harit. 23·4 × 11·2 *cm.* Second century A.D.

This receipt, which is written on the *verso* of lxxxvi, is an acknowledgement by the collectors of money-taxes at Euhemeria of a payment of 56 drachmae on account of the taxes on oil (εἴδη ἐλαικά), and perhaps some other tax (cf. note on line 4). Concerning the oil-taxes in Roman times little or nothing is known beyond the fact that taxes were imposed on oil-producing land (introd. to lv), and this papyrus is too indefinite to add much to our information on the subject. Perhaps the εἴδη here are identical with the εἴδη which are found in lv. 4 as taxes on ἐλαιῶνες. The chief interest of the present document lies in the insight which it affords as to the manner in which receipts were issued to the tax-payers. Not only do the collectors here acknowledge the payment made to them, but they undertake to transfer it to the government account and to hand over to the payer the government receipt. In this case therefore the tax-payer was supplied with two receipts, (*a*) the temporary acknowledgement of the collector, (*b*) the final receipt of the government issued after the collector had paid over the money to the government bank. Cf. xli, where payments made to the tax-collector are distinguished from those ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν. Has this system of double receipts any connexion with the phrase μὴ προσχρήσῃ ἑτέρῳ συμβόλῳ? Cf. liv. 3, note.

Θ (ἔτους), Παχὼν κζ, διὰ Διοσκόρου καὶ Τουτ̣ε̣ῶ̣-
τος καὶ με(τό)χ(ων) πρακτώρ(ων) ἀργυρικῶν κώμη(ς)
Εὐημερίας. διεγραψαι ἔσχον εἰς λόγον
διαγραφῆς εἰδῶν ἐλαεικον η (ἔτους) ετα̣ . ϛ η (ἔτους)
δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα ἕξ, / (δραχμαὶ) νϛ, ἅσπερ
καὶ διαγράψομεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπ' ὀ-
νόματος σοῦ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ ἐπε-
νεγκοῦμέ(ν) σοι τὸ δημόσιον σύμ-
βολον.

3. l. διέγραψας. 4. l. ἐλαικῶν. 7. κ of και corr. from ε.

'The ninth year, Pachon 27, through Dioscorus and Touteos (?) and partners, collectors of money-taxes at the village of Euhemeria. You have paid and I have received on account of the payment for the oil-taxes of the eighth year . . . fifty-six drachmae, total 56 dr., which sum we will pay to the treasury in the name of you, Apollonius, and will hand over to you the treasury receipt.'

1. At the end of the line τοῦ Τεῶ|τος should perhaps be read, the article being wrongly inserted.

3. For a similar combination of διαγράφειν and ἔχειν cf. B. G. U. 61 II. 2–4.

4. The name of another tax would be expected before the second η (ἔτους), but there is no known tax which suits. In view of the very illiterate character of the receipt it is perhaps not too much to suppose that its author was capable of a third ἔτους, this time written out in full. The third and fourth letters may be read as ου.

7. ἐπενεγκοῦμε⟨ν⟩ is clearly intended for a future, corresponding to διαγράψομεν as τὸ δημόσιον σύμβολον does to εἰς τὸ δημόσιον.

LXV. Receipt.

Harit. 12·6 × 7·4 *cm.* Second century A.D.

The nature of the payments recorded in the following receipt, which is evidently of an official character, is very obscure. The payments, which are large, were made by some women through the agency of their guardian on account of catoecic land inherited by them from their father. The description of the first sum, 140 drachmae, is lost owing to the mutilation of the papyrus; that of the second is γνωστείας λοιπῶν κλήρου κ(ατ)οι(κικοῦ). γνωστεία should mean something like 'authorization,' 'supervision.' But its significance in this connexion is altogether doubtful. It is not known that catoecic land when inherited by females was under any kind of government tutelage or subject to special imposts.

. . . .

-μέ[ν]ων αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ
πατρὸς τετελ(ευτηκότος) ιη (ἔτει) (δραχμὰς) ρμδ.
Φαρμοῦθι β, ἀριθ(μήσεως) Μεχ(εὶρ) καὶ Φαμ(ενώθ),
διέγρ(αψαν) αἱ αὐταὶ ὁμοίως δι(ὰ) τοῦ
αὐτοῦ γνωστείας λοιπῶν
κλήρου κ(ατ)οι(κικοῦ) (ἀρουρῶν) ιγ (ἡμίσους) περὶ Θεαδελ(φείαν)
καταλειπ(ομένων) αὐταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ
πατρὸς τετελ(ευτηκότος) ιη (ἔτει) (δραχμὰς) . δ.

1. -μέ[ν]ων is the termination of καταλειπο|μέ[ν]ων; cf. 7. αὐτοῖς is probably a mistake for αὐταῖς which seems to be correctly written in 7.

6. κ(ατ)οι(κικοῦ): for the form of the abbreviation cf. introduction to xli.

LXVI. List of Fines.

Ûmm el 'Atl. Gizeh Inv. no. 10231. 5·9 × 12·3 *cm.* A.D. 185 or 217.

A list of payments by various persons for fines officially imposed apparently as the result of an inquiry (διαλογισμός, if that be the correct resolution of the abbreviation διαλογ). The terminology of the papyrus introduces us into a new field, and in the absence of parallel documents we abstain from conjecture. The first line was clearly a heading. The 26th year mentioned must refer to either Commodus or Caracalla.

] . . . . ικος ἀριθ(μήσεως) Θὼθ μη(νὸς) κϛ (ἔτους) κατακριμάτ(ων)
'Ιερ]ανοῦπις 'Ιερανούπεως ἐπ(ικαλούμενος) Γερμανὸς ὑπ(ὲρ) ἐπιτί(μου) δια-
λογ(ισμοῦ) (δραχμαὶ) η.
] . ω ὑπ(ὲρ) εναττυ[. . .]εως 'Ιασῆπις ὑπ(ὲρ) ἐπιτ(ίμου) ἀναγο(ρίας) (δραχμαὶ) κϛ.
]αλεως ὑπ(ὲρ) ἐπιτ(ίμου) διαλογ(ισμοῦ) ἀναγορίας (δραχμαὶ) κ.
]—

LXVII–LXXVI (*a*). Custom-house Receipts.

This group is a selection from a large number of similar receipts relating to taxes paid at the custom-houses of the outlying villages in the Fayûm by persons crossing the desert to Memphis or the oases. Many examples of this class of papyri have already been published, thirteen in Gr. Pap. II. 1 (*a*)-(*m*), eight in B. G. U. 763–8 and 803–4, and seven in Kenyon, *Catal.* II. pp. 83–7; the present volume contains thirty-eight, nearly all from Ûmm el 'Atl (Bacchias), where the direct road from Memphis to the Fayûm entered (and still enters) the Arsinoite nome; and there are a few unpublished specimens in the collections of Lord Amherst and Lord Crawford. Despite the unusually large amount of evidence there are several points of difficulty in the interpretation of the taxes which require a detailed examination. For previous discussion see our Gr. Pap. II. pp. 78 sqq., Kenyon, *ibid.* p. 83, Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 354–60. The formula of these receipts is with slight variations as follows: (1) τετέλεσται, nearly always abbreviated τετελ, in the middle voice, meaning 'has paid'; (2) διὰ πύλης, followed by a village name, e.g. Bacchias (lxvii), Karanis (B. G. U. 764), Dionysias (lxviii), Socnopaei Nesus (lxix), Philadelphia (Gr. Pap. II. 1 *c*); (3) the name of the tax or taxes; (4) the name of the tax-payer; (5) ἐξάγων or, much less frequently, εἰσάγων, sometimes with

a statement of the object of the journey; (6) ἐπί, followed by a statement of the animal or animals; (7) the amount of the loads in the accusative (governed by ἐξάγων, not by τετέλεσται, see Gr. Pap. II. p. 79); (8) the date; (9) seal of the πύλη or crosses to indicate a seal. The amount paid is almost invariably omitted; where it occurs, it is inserted after the loads (e.g. in lxviii. 3). The taxes found are three: (1) the ἐρημοφυλακία, sometimes, as in lxxv. 2, called ἴχνους ἐρημοφυλακία, (2) the tax λιμένος Μέμφεως, (3) the tax called ρʹ καὶ νʹ, i.e. $\frac{1}{100}$ and $\frac{1}{50}$.

As to the meaning of ἐρημοφυλακία there is no difficulty; it was a tax for the maintenance of the 'desert police' who protected caravans. Payments of this tax are elsewhere said to be ὑπὲρ συμβόλων καμήλων: cf. Gr. Pap. II. lviii; Brit. Mus. Pap. 318, where six drachmae are paid to the farmer of the taxes for ἐρημοφυλακία and παροδίου ('permit to travel') for one camel journeying from (Socnopaei?) Nesus to the Letopolite nome or vice versa; and *ibid.* Pap. 330, where 32 drachmae are paid to the farmer of the same two taxes for four camels coming from Dionysias to the Letopolite nome or vice versa. In these three instances of payments ὑπὲρ συμβόλων καμήλων it is not made clear whether the tax for ἐρημοφύλακες was paid at the beginning of the journey or at the end. But the more natural supposition is that it was paid at the beginning, for this was the case in twelve out of the thirteen Fayûm receipts for ἐρημοφυλακία, in which the payer is stated to be ἐξάγων. In one instance (Brit. Mus. Pap. 316 (*b*); cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. p. 143) the taxpayer was entering (εἰσάγων) the Fayûm, but here probably the circumstances were exceptional, for it is hardly conceivable that caravans should have to pay ἐρημοφυλακία twice over. In lxviii, one of the very few tax-receipts issued by a πύλη which mention the sum paid, the rate of ἐρημοφυλακία for a person journeying from Dionysias to some place, the name of which is uncertain, was 8 drachmae on four camels. Whether the tax fell on the animals or on the produce or on both is a question which will be discussed later.

The nature of the tax for the 'harbour of Memphis' remains a puzzle. In none of the thirty-two extant receipts for it is the amount paid stated, and in only one case, lxxiv. 1, is the tax-payer entering the Fayûm. But there is not the same reason for thinking the conditions in that instance to be exceptional as there was in the case of the ἐρημοφυλακία, and probably the tax was paid by all caravans passing through the πύλη on their way either to or from Memphis. The caravan trade with the oases was no doubt exempt. It is difficult to say which part of the phrase λιμένος Μέμφεως is the more remarkable—that persons going by land should pay a tax for a harbour, or that villages in the Fayûm should collect a tax concerning Memphis. From a comparison of the λιμένος

Μέμφεως receipts with ostraca from Syene (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 276), in which an export tax of $\frac{1}{50}$ upon produce is collected by the τελῶναι πεντηκοστῆς λιμένος Σοήνης, it might be conjectured that the λιμένος Μέμφεως payment was merely an export and import duty, and that λιμήν had a general signification, the land journey being treated on the analogy of the river journeys which in the Nile valley were of course more usual. But this does not explain why we have Μέμφεως and not Ἀρσινοΐτου: moreover the ρ' καὶ ν' tax was an export and import duty, and since from lxxiii and lxxiv we know that caravans paid both taxes, there must have been some difference between them. If we are to hazard a conjecture where the evidence is so perplexing we would suggest that the explanation of the tax for the 'harbour of Memphis' is to be found in the early history of the Fayûm. When Lake Moeris filled the space between Arsinoë and Bacchias or beyond (cf. p. 7), there must have been somewhere in the north-east corner of the Fayûm an important harbour where persons travelling direct to Memphis disembarked. This place might have been called the 'harbour of Memphis' and tolls exacted there. When the lake contracted, the tolls may have continued to be exacted in addition to the ordinary export and import tax for produce represented by the ρ' καὶ ν'. In any case the identity of the formula in the λιμένος Μέμφεως and the ρ' καὶ ν' series leads us to think that both taxes must have been levied in very much the same way.

That ρ' καὶ ν' means '$\frac{1}{100}$ and $\frac{1}{50}$' there is no doubt, nor has our explanation of the $\frac{1}{50}$ as a tax levied on the produce been questioned. But the point whether the tax of the $\frac{1}{100}$ was levied on the produce or on the animals is disputable. In Gr. Pap. II. p. 80 we maintained that it too was levied on the produce, making a tax of 3 per cent. in all; and this view was adopted by Kenyon (*Catal. l. c.*). Wilcken however (*Ost.* I. p. 357 sqq.) has recently argued with much force that the hundredth was a tax on the animals. His reasons are: (1) the πεντηκοστή is known in other parts of Egypt as the regular tax on produce exported and imported, and therefore the ἑκατοστή ought to be something different; (2) the numbers of the animals is stated with no less regularity than the amount of the produce; (3) in Gr. Pap. II 1(*a*) a full description of the animal is given, but there is no mention of the produce, and therefore the animal alone in that case was taxed. From the circumstance that in the receipts for ἐρημοφυλακία and λιμένος Μέμφεως the number of animals as well as the amount of produce was given, he concludes that both factors were taken into consideration in assessing those taxes also.

In spite however of the attractiveness of this theory, especially because it accounts for the regular mention of the transport animals, the fuller evidence now available seems inconsistent with the view that the ἑκατοστή was a tax on

the animals; and the ἐρημοφυλακία probably stands on a somewhat different footing from that of the other two taxes. Gr. Pap. II. l (*a*) is very inconclusive, for it is wholly uncertain which of the three taxes is meant. The papyrus has in place of the name of the tax νομ(αρχίας or -ιῶν) Ἀρσινοίτου, which means that the nomarch was the official responsible for its collection. In *ibid.* l (*b*) νομ(αρχίας) Ἀρσινοίτου follows ρ′ καὶ ν′, but since all the taxes collected by the πύλη were presumably under the supervision of the nomarch l (*a*) cannot be referred to ρ′ καὶ ν′ rather than to ἐρημοφυλακία without further reasons. Not only so, but even if l (*a*) does refer to the ρ′ καὶ ν′, unless a parallel instance in which the produce is omitted in a ρ′ καὶ ν′ receipt is forthcoming, l (*a*) is open to the suspicion that the produce, like the name of the tax, has been accidentally left out. A comparison of the statistics of the cases in which the formulae of the three series of tax-receipts vary in respect of the omission of the animals and produce leads to the conclusion that in l (*a*) the ἐρημοφυλακία is more probably meant. Out of twenty-five receipts for ρ′ καὶ ν′, twenty-three mention both animals and produce, one (Gr. Pap. II. l (*f*) 2) omits the animals, one (Gr. Pap. II. l (*f*) 1) mentions the number of animals and the nature of the produce but without stating its amount, which was calculated, as often (cf. note on lxvii. 2), in proportion to the animals. In the case of the λιμένος Μέμφεως series there is even less variation. Thirty out of thirty-one mention both animals and produce, one (Brit. Mus. Pap. 416 *b*) *perhaps* omits the animals, but the reading is uncertain. The inference which we should draw from these instances is that no importance is to be attached to the very small percentage of variations from the rule in the ρ′ καὶ ν′ and λιμένος Μέμφεως series; but it is worth while pointing out that since there is one case (Gr. Pap. II. l (*f*) 2) in which the animals are left out, none in which the produce is omitted, so far as the variations prove anything, they would show that the produce was a more necessary item than the animals in estimating the tax. With ἐρημοφυλακία, however, the case is different. Out of thirteen instances of receipts for this tax, where it is not coupled with ρ′ καὶ ν′, only four (clxxxvi-ix) give full details concerning both animals and produce; four (Gr. Pap. II. l (*c*) and (*m*), lxxv of the present volume, and an unpublished one in Lord Amherst's collection) give the number of the animals and the nature of the produce without stating its amount (cf. Gr. Pap. II. l (*f*) 1); two (Gr. Pap. II. l (*i*), and lxviii below) omit the produce; and two (Brit. Mus. Pap. 316 *b* and 469 *a*) omit the animals. Brit. Mus. Pap. 316 (*c*) gives the number of the animals but omits the nature of the load, though stating that there was one. Of the receipts ὑπὲρ συμβόλων καμήλων, issued by the μισθωτὴς ἐρημοφυλακίας καὶ παροδίου of the Prosopite and Leto-

polite nomes (*v. sup.*), one (Brit. Mus. Pap. 318) mentions camels but no produce; another (*ibid.* 330) mentions camels ὑπὸ σκεύη. Out of fifteen receipts concerning ἐρημοφυλακία, we thus have three which omit the produce, while out of twenty-five for ρ' καὶ ν' and thirty-one for λιμένος Μέμφεως there is no instance of the total omission of the produce. From this we infer (1) that ἐρημοφυλακία was paid on an unloaded animal, e.g. in lxviii, though when it was loaded the tax, as is shown by Brit. Mus. Pap. 316 (*b*), took account of the produce as well; (2) there is nothing to show that the tax of a hundredth, or the tax λιμένος Μέμφεως, was paid on an unloaded animal. Yet if, as Wilcken supposes, the tax of a hundredth was paid on animals whether loaded or not, it is very curious that there should be no instance of a receipt for the hundredth upon an unloaded animal. Gr. Pap. II l (*a*), as has been shown, is inconclusive.

There is, however, a much stronger argument against the view that the tax of $\frac{1}{100}$ was upon the value of the transport animals. A receipt for ρ' καὶ ν', obtained by us last winter and now in the collection of Lord Crawford, gives the amount of the tax. An individual leaving Socnopaei Nesus in A.D. 162 paid for one female camel carrying six artabae of λαχανοσπέρμον, 5 drachmae; and for one male camel and two donkeys carrying 12 artabae of wheat, 3 drachmae. An examination of the prices of donkeys and camels in the Fayûm will show that the amounts paid here are far too low, if the hundredth of the value of the animals was taken into account. Camels were sold at 800 dr. (Brit. Mus. Pap. 320, B. G. U. 88 and 153); 1200 dr. for two (Brit. Mus. Pap. 323); 450 dr. (Pap. Gen. 29); 500 dr. for two (B. G. U. 87); 780 dr. (*ib.* 100); 1340 dr. for two (*ib.* 416); 580 dr. (*ib.* 453); 680 dr. (*ib.* 469). Donkeys were sold at 106 dr. (Gr. Pap. II. xlvi); 148 dr. (Brit. Mus. Pap. 303); 160 dr. (*ib.* 466); 64 dr. (*ib.* 313); 160 dr. for a female donkey and foal (*ib.* 339); 260 dr. (B. G. U. 228); 500 dr. and 300 dr. for male donkeys (*ib.* 413 and 527); and 56 dr. (xcii. 17 below). Taking even the lowest prices found here, 250 dr. for a camel and 56 dr. for a donkey, a tax of one per cent. on a camel and two donkeys will alone more than exhaust the three drachmae paid according to the Crawford papyrus for 1 camel, 2 donkeys, and 12 artabae of wheat. Yet the tax of two per cent. on the wheat must have amounted to at least 2 dr., unless the value of the wheat was very much less than 8⅓ dr. an artaba, which is unlikely; and this leaves only 1 drachma for the supposed one per cent. tax on the camel and two donkeys, which is impossible. The Crawford papyrus seems to us to dispose conclusively of the view that the tax of the hundredth was upon the value of the transport animals; and in these circumstances there seems no alternative but to adhere to our original

explanation of the ρ′ καὶ ν′ as a tax of three per cent. on the produce. This would give $8\frac{1}{3}$ dr. an artaba as the value of the wheat in the Crawford papyrus, which is an average price. 10 dr. an artaba is the rate found in Brit. Mus. Pap. 131 *recto* 177–8, and 7 dr. 1 obol in B. G. U. 834. 22.

A corollary of this view is that an unloaded animal passing through the πύλη did not incur the tax ρ′ καὶ ν′ (nor, probably, the tax λιμένος Μέμφεως), though the owner would have to pay ἐρημοφυλακία (*v. sup.*). But this distinction is not unreasonable in itself; and, as we have already shown, the regularity with which in the receipts for ρ′ καὶ ν′ and λιμένος Μέμφεως the produce is mentioned points to the same conclusion.

The receipts range in date from the reign of Titus to the third century. The emperor's name is usually omitted, especially in the later examples. The various classes of produce or other objects transported are wheat, barley, wine, pulse (ὄροβος, very common), vegetables and vegetable seed, dates, garlic, olives, and sheep-skins (ἐρίων πόκοι). lxxv and lxxvi are written on the vertical fibres.

LXVII.

Umm el 'Atl. 3·5 × 6·3 *cm.* A.D. 80.

Παρέσ(χηκε) διὰ πύλης Βακ{χ}χ(ιάδος) Ἰβία Πτ(ολεμαίου ?)
(πυροῦ) ὄνους τρεῖς. (ἔτους) β Τίτου τοῦ κυ-
ρίου, Μεσορὴ τρισκα[ιδε]κάτῃ.
2nd hand *Ἥπιο[ς] σεσημίω(μαι).*

1. For the variation παρέσ(χηκε) instead of τετέλεσται cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. 316 (*c*) 1, where Wilcken reads παραεσ, i. e. παρέσ(χε). As in Gr. Pap. I (*a*) the particular tax is not named.

2. The ὄνοι are treated as a measure, 'donkey loads'; cf. lxxv. 3, and B. G. U. 802, where a donkey load of wheat is $3\frac{1}{3}$ artabae, and Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 754.

LXVIII.

Harît. 6·3 × 5·3 *cm.* A.D. 158.

Τετέλ(εσται) δι(ὰ) πύλ(ης) Διονυ(σιάδος) ἐρη(μοφυλακίας)
Ἀλῶθ(ις) ἐξ(άγων) εἰς Βυστ( ) καμ(ήλους) τέσ-
σαρες [[ις]] (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώ. (ἔτους) πρώτου

καὶ εἰκοστοῦ Ἀντωνείνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Παχὼ(ν)
ἕκτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι, κϛ.

3. l. τέσσαρας. The camels were probably unloaded; cf. introduction.

LXIX.

Kôm Ushîm. Gizeh Inv. no. 10239. 4·8 × 4·4 *cm.* Second or third century.

Τετέλ(εσται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Σοκ[νοπ(αίου)
Νήσου λιμ(ένος) Μέμφεω[ς
Ὧρος ἐξά(γων) ἐπὶ ὄνοις [.
ὀρόβ(ου) ἀρτ(άβας) ἕξ, (ἀρτάβας) ϛ. (ἔτους) [.
Ἐπεὶφ ἑβδόμῃ καὶ εἰ-
κάδι, κζ.

4. Probably (ἔτους) [ζ; cf. the next papyrus, which was found with this one.

LXX.

Kôm Ushîm. Gizeh Inv. no. 10240. 3·9 × 5·3 *cm.* Second or third century.

Τετέλ(εσται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Σοκνοπ(αίου) Νήσου
ρ' καὶ ν' Ἐριεὺς ἐξ(άγων) ἐπὶ κα-
μήλῳ πώλῳ λαχάνου
(ἀρτάβας) τέσσαρες. (ἔτους) ζ, Φαρ-
μοῦθι δωδεκάτῃ, ιβ.

4. l. τέσσαρας. 5. δω corr. from δεκ.

LXXI.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 6·7 × 5·6 *cm.* Second or third century.

Τετέλ(εσται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Β[α]κχ(ιάδος)
ρ' καὶ ν' Ἀμμώνιος
ἐξ(άγων) ἐπὶ ὄνοις ἑπτά, ζ,
ὀρόβου (ἀρτάβας) εἴκοσι μίαν,
κα. (ἔτους) ιϛ, Μεσορὴ
ἑνδεκάτῃ, ια.

LXXII.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 6·7 × 5·3 *cm.* Second or third century.

Τετέλ(εσται) ιὰ πύλης Βακχ(ιάδος)
λιμ(ένος) Μέμφεως Ἥρων
ἐξ(άγων) ἐπ(ὶ) ὄνῳ ἑνὶ σκόρ-
δων χα̣ . υ̣βιον ἕν, α.
(ἔτους) ϛ, Παῦνι
ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ,
ιθ.

LXXIII.

Ûmm et 'Atl. Gizeh Inv. no. 10236. 5·3 × 6·1 *cm.* Second or third century.

Ἀντεσύμβολ(ον). Παῆσις τε(τέ)λ(εσται)
διὰ πύλ(ης) Βακχι(άδος) ρ´ καὶ ν´
ἰσά(γων) ἐπὶ ὄνοις πέντε
οἴνου κεράμια εἴκοσι ὀ-
κτώ. (ἔτους) ιη, Θὼθ τρίτῃ, γ.

1. In this papyrus and the next, which is written in the same hand and records the payment for λιμένος Μέμφεως by Paesis on the same wine, we at length have concrete examples of ἀντισύμβολα, an obscure term which has been occasionally found coupled with σύμβολα in Ptolemaic papyri concerning the royal bank; cf. Wilcken *Aktenstücke* vi. 11 and Gr. Pap. II. xxiii. 7. Wilcken suggests (*Ost.* I. p. 638) that the σύμβολον may be the receipt which the banker gives to the recipient of money, the ἀντισύμβολον the receipt which the recipient gives to the banker, or vice versa. This may be true so far that one term (preferably the σύμβολον) means the receipt given by the person who receives the money to the person who pays it, and that the other term, i. e. the ἀντισύμβολον, means a receipt kept by the person who receives the money. But the present instances of ἀντισύμβολα show that there was no difference in the formula, for with the exception of a trifling variation in the order of words, lxxii and lxxiii are identical with the other receipts, which are simply σύμβολα like any ordinary tax-receipt; cf. B. G. U. 293. 1 ἀντέγρ(αφον) συμβόλ(ου). Nor is it easy to see how or why the person who pays money should write a receipt for the person who receives it. ἀντισύμβολον therefore is practically equivalent to ἀντίγραφον συμβόλου; cf. xxi. 12, note.

3. Instances of persons εἰσάγοντες are very rare, the only others being Gr. Pap. II. l (*a*) and (*f*) 2 and Brit. Mus. Pap. 316 (*b*). In all other cases the persons are ἐξάγοντες.

LXXIV.

Ûmm el 'Atl. Gizeh Inv. no. 10237. 5·3 × 5·5 *cm.* Second or third century.

Ἀντεσύμβολ(ον). Παῆσις ἰσάγ(ων) τε(τέ)λ(εσται)
δ(ιὰ) πύλ(ης) Βακχιάδος λι(μένος) Μέμφεως
ἐπὶ ὄνοις ε οἴνου κεράμια
εἴκοσι ὀκτώ. (ἔτους) ιη, Θὼθ
τρίτῃ, γ.

1. ἰσαγ Pap.

LXXV.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 5·6 × 4·5 *cm.* Second or third century.

Τετέλ(εσται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Βακχι(άδος)
ἴχν(ους) ἐρη(μοφυλακίας) Παῆσις
ἐξάγ(ων) σκόρδων
ὄνους δύο, β.
γ (ἔτους), Παρμοῦθι
τρίτῃ, γ.

3. σκόρδων ὄνους: cf. note on lxvii. 2. σκο of σκόρδων corr. from επι. 5. l. Φαρμοῦθι.

LXXVI.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 5·7 × 4·3 *cm.* Second or third century.

Τετέ[λ(εσται)] διὰ πύλ(ης) Βακχι(άδος)
ρ' καὶ ν' καὶ ἴχνους ἐρ-
ημοφυλ(ακίας) Πασίων ἐξάγ(ων)
ἐπὶ ὄνοις τρεισί, γ, ὀρό-
βου (ἀρτάβας) ἐννέα, θ. (ἔτους) κ,
Ἁθὺρ πεντε[καιδ]εκά-
τῃ, ιε.

LXXVI (*a*).

Ûmm el 'Atl. 5·5 × 6·5 *cm.* A.D. 152.

. . . . .

. . [

ἕνα (ἀρτάβας) πέντε τέλ(ος)

ὀβολοὶ δύο ἡμιώβολ(ον).

(ἔτους) ιε Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος

τοῦ κυρίου, Ἐπεὶφ ἑπτα-

καιδεκάτῃ, ιζ.

The conclusion of a receipt, probably issued by the πύλη, giving the amount of the tax like the Crawford papyrus mentioned above. 5 artabae are more then the usual load of a donkey (cf. note on lxvii. 2), so perhaps κάμηλον should be supplied at the end of line 1. But the accusative ἕνα in l. 2 is a difficulty, for where both the number of the animals and the amount of the produce is given, the animals are generally placed in the dative after ἐπί.

LXXVII–LXXIX. Work on the Embankments.

Since the effectiveness of the system of irrigation is and always has been one of the prime conditions of the prosperity of Egypt, the maintenance of the canals and embankments was carefully supervised by the government. The papyri and ostraca (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 333 sqq.) show that contributions to this end were annually exacted in two ways, in labour and in money, the regular period of work being five days and the regular payment 6 drachmae 4 obols. What exactly was the relation between these two methods is not yet ascertained. It is in itself probable enough, as is assumed by Kenyon (*Catal.* II. p. 103), that the money payment was made in lieu of the five days' work. But this has yet to be established by evidence, and until then the possibility remains that the tax ὑπὲρ χωματικῶν was independent of the requisition of personal labour, and that the payment of the one did not involve immunity from the other. The fact that substitutes were allowed (B. G. U. 722. 7–9 Πτολεμαῖος Μαρρ[εί]ους ὑπὲρ Παπεῖτ(ος) Φανομγέως) does not at all prove that the money paid ὑπὲρ χωματικῶν was expended in the employment of substitutes. From the occurrence of the name of the person for whom the substitute was acting we should rather draw the contrary conclusion, since the name would be quite immaterial if substitutes were employed on a large scale by the government.

Of the three following texts, which are certificates for labour of this kind,

two follow the same formula as the numerous other examples published in Gr. Pap. II. (liii *a–g*), the British Museum Catalogue (Nos. 139 *b*, 165, 166 *b*, 316 *a*, 321, 325), and the Berlin *Urkunden* (264, 593, 658, 722, 723). They briefly state that the recipient had worked during five successive days in a certain locality, as usual during one of the summer months Pauni, Epeiph, or Mesore, the period of the inundation. Labour was also sometimes required in the previous month, Pachon (Brit. Mus. Pap. 166 *b*), and not infrequently later on in the autumn, in Athur. The third papyrus (lxxviii) is peculiar in certifying a period of two days only (cf. cclxxxviii). No clue to the reason of this variation is afforded. The explanation certainly is not that the individual labour required by the government in some years or some localities amounted to less than five days, for it so happens that lxxvii is a certificate for work done in the previous month of the same year upon the same embankment, and in this instance the period is the regular five days. Possibly the two days were only an instalment, though there is no suggestion of this in the language of the document; possibly they were an extra period, necessitated by exceptional local conditions, and this may be the meaning of the unusual addition in line 5 ἀκολούθως τοῖς κελευθεῖσι; or perhaps this person was for some reason privileged, and had not to work more than two days. But without further evidence a satisfactory conclusion is not attainable.

Other examples of these certificates are cclxxxvi–ccxc and ccclix–ccclxvi.

LXXVII.

Harit. 7·1 × 6·8 *cm.* A.D. 147.

Ἔ[τους δεκάτο]υ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου
Αἰλίου Ἀδρ[ι]ανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ
Εὐσεβοῦς. εἴργ(ασται) ὑπ(ὲρ) χωμ(ατικῶν) ἔργων
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ι (ἔτους) (2nd hand) *Ἐπεὶφ ιϛ κ ἐν*
τῇ Ψιναλειτριω( ) Θεαδελ(φείας)
Ὧρος Πανεσ(νέως) τα(ῦ)
Νεφερῶ(τος) μη(τρὸς) Σοήρεω(ς).
3rd hand *Μαρείνο(ς) σεσημ(είωμαι).*

'The tenth year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius. Work has been done for the embankment works of the same tenth year from the 16th to the 20th Epeiph at the Psinali . . . dyke at Theadelphia by Horus, son of Panesneus, son of Nepheros, his mother being Soëris. Signed by me, Marinus.'

5. The name of the embankment or canal may consist of two words Ψιναλεὶ Τριω( ) or τριω( ); and it is therefore hardly certain that the name is exactly the same as that in lxxviii. 6, where the letters after Ψιναλει are rather differently written. There τρ and ω are fairly certain, but the intervening vowels are more like αι than ει. Here π could take the place of τρ and ω be read as δ.

8. It is not quite clear where σεσημ(είωμαι) begins, and the name Μαρεῖνος may not have been abbreviated.

LXXVIII.

Harît. 7·1 × 10·2 *cm.* A.D. 147.

Ἔτους δεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἁδριανοῦ
Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς.
εἴργ(ασται) εἰς χω(ματικὰ) ἔργ(α) τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) ι (ἔτους)
ἐφ' ἡ(μέρας) δύο ἀκολ(ούθως) τοῖς κελευσθ(εῖσι)
2nd hand *Μεσορὴ ζ καὶ η ἐν τῇ Ψιναλειτρειω( ) Θεα[δε]λ(φείας)*
Δεῖος Ἡρακ(λείδου) [το(ῦ)] Λύκου μη(τρὸς) Τασωούκ(εως).
3rd hand *Πρέτις σεσημ(είωμαι).*

'The tenth year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius. Work has been done for the embankment works of the same tenth year for two days in accordance with the command on Mesore 7 and 8 at the Psinali . . . dyke at Theadelphia by Dius, son of Heraclides, son of Lycus, his mother being Tasooukis. Signed by me, Pretis.'

5. ἀκολ(ούθως) τοῖς κελευσθ(εῖσι): cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. 321 (*c*) 5 τὴν κελ(ευσθεῖσαν) πενθ(ημερίαν). These phrases sufficiently show the forced character of the labour.

6. On the name of the dyke cf. note on lxxvii. 5.

8. The name of the person who signed the certificate was possibly Ἥρων; but if so, σεσημ(είωμαι), which is less cursively written than usual, has a σ or ε too much at the beginning.

LXXIX.

Ûmm el 'Atl. Gizeh Inv. No. 10241. 4·3 × 5 *cm.* A.D. 197.

Ἔτους ε Λουκίου Σεπτιμίο[υ
Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακ[ος
Σεβαστο(ῦ). εἴργ(ασται) ὑπ(ὲρ) χω(ματικῶν) ε (ἔτους) (2nd hand?)
Παῦ(νι) ιε ἕω(ς) ι[θ

ἐν τῇ ὀρ(εινῇ) Πτολ(εμαίου) Βακχι(άδος)
Πετεσοῦχο(ς) Βίωνος
Μελλεᾶτος.

4. Cf. Gr. Pap. II. liii (*d*) 5 ἐν ὀρ(εινῇ) Πτολ(εμαίου) πλ(ησίον ?) Βακχ(ιάδος), and B. G. U. 722, where read ἐν ὀρεινῇ Πατ( ). That ορ stands for ὀρεινή and not ὄρυγμα or ὀρυγή is proved by several examples from Tebtunis. ἡ ὀρ(εινή) (sc. διῶρυξ) means 'the desert canal,' i.e. possibly the same as the 'canal of Cleon' (P. P. II. xxxvi (1) 4) which brought water to Bacchias and perhaps to Socnopaei Nesus; cf. p. 15.

LXXX. Advance of Seed Corn.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 4·1 × 6 *cm*. A.D. 141–2.

This papyrus is one of a large class of Fayûm receipts, addressed to the sitologi or keepers of granaries by δημόσιοι γεωργοί, acknowledging the advance of seed corn; cf. Viereck, *Hermes*, xxx. pp. 107 sqq. The amount was usually one artaba for each aroura when the land was βασιλικὴ γῆ (B. G. U. 171 and 512). In the case of ἱερὰ γῆ and προσόδου γῆ (confiscated land, cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. pp. 148–9) which were also cultivated by δημόσιοι γεωργοί (Brit. Mus. Pap. 256 (*e*) 1, 2) the advance was somewhat less; see B. G. U. 512 and Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 777. In contracts for the lease of private land, where the seed corn is sometimes advanced to the γεωργός by the lessor, the amount was also generally one artaba to the aroura, e.g. in B. G. U. 227. 15, and the repayment of this advance (without interest) was included in the rent. Since the δημόσιοι γεωργοί were in much the same position as other γεωργοί and paid rent (ἐκφόριον, C. P. R. I. 32. 13) for their holdings to a government official, it is probable that in their case too the repayment of the advance was included in their rent. Kenyon on the strength of Brit. Mus. Pap. 193, in which extra payments for διχοι(νικία) are connected with some kind of land-tax, has supposed that the advances of corn by the sitologi had to be repaid with $\frac{1}{24}$ interest after the harvest. But, as Wilcken (*Archiv*, I. p. 150) has pointed out, there is no evidence to show that Brit. Mus. Pap. 193 is concerned with δημόσιοι γεωργοί, and we should explain that papyrus differently; see note on lxxxi. 9.

Owing to the excessive brevity of the present document it is impossible to say what kind of land is in question. There is nothing to show that it was even government as opposed to private land except the comparison with other documents having the same formula, in which the land is either βασιλική, προσόδου, or (apparently) belonging to some οὐσία.

Ἔσχο(ν) προφω( ) χιρόγρ(αφον) σπερμ(άτων)
τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) ε (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Ὀρσενο(ῦφις)
πρεσβ(ύτερος) Σαμβᾶ τοῦ Ὀρσενο(ύφιος)
(ἀρουρῶν) ε.

1. προφω( ): cf. B. G. U. 291. 1 ἔσχον προσφω( ) σπερ(μάτων). Elsewhere in this class of receipts the word is written προ). From B. G. U. 171. 2, where δάνειον is found in the same position, the sense is clear, but the resolution of the abbreviated word is doubtful. The Berlin editors conjecture προσφοράν, which makes good sense. But it is curious that in both cases -φω instead of -φο should occur, and the use of χειρόγραφον shows that a document giving an order for the seed corn, not the seed corn itself, is meant. προσφω( ) and προφω( ) however, if correct, suggest nothing but προσφώ(νησιν) or προφώ(νησιν), neither of which is very satisfactory.

5. The amount of seed received is not stated, but had a fixed relation to the aroura, one artaba or thereabouts; cf. introduction.

LXXXI. Receipt for Payment in Kind.

Harit. 15·2 × 6·5 *cm.* A.D. 115.

This and the four following papyri are receipts issued by the sitologi for payment of various taxes in kind. Numerous similar receipts from the Fayûm in the collections of the Berlin and the British Museums have been published, but despite the large number of examples the interpretation of the series is open to doubt, especially in regard to the nature of the taxes and the position of the persons mentioned as making the payments, about whom it is not always clear whether they are the tax-collectors or the tax-payers.

The taxes found, which are written in the genitive, either with or without ὑπέρ, and usually immediately preceded or followed by a village name, are four: (1) (ὑπὲρ) κατοίκων, lxxxi. 7, lxxxiii. 8, lxxxiv. 9, lxxxv. 10, cclxiv, Ost. 23. 4, B. G. U. 336. 8, 579. 7, 755. 5, 792. 11, 835. 11; (2) (ὑπὲρ) κληρούχων, B. G. U. 61. 9, Brit. Mus. Pap. 217. 17; cf. διὰ κληρούχων, lxxxii. 19, lxxxvi. 8 (a sitologus' account of his monthly receipts) lxxxvi (*a*) 7; (3) (ὑπὲρ) δημοσίων, generally abbreviated δη, 180. 2, lxxxv. 7, lxxxvi. 7, and lxxxvi (*a*) 9, B. G. U. 67. 9, 716. 9, 835. 11, Brit. Mus. Pap. 315. 8, 372. 8, 346 (*a*) 8, (*c*) 5; (4) (ὑπὲρ) ἰδιοκτή(του? sc. γῆς), cccxlii.

The payments ὑπὲρ κατοίκων and κληρούχων are explained, rightly as we think, by Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 380) as the land-tax (cf. p. 185) upon these two classes of landowners. That for ἰδιοκτή(του?) is also probably a payment of

land-tax by a private owner. A difficulty arises concerning the interpretation of δημοσίων. Wilcken (*Archiv*, I. p. 144) explains this term as equivalent to δημοσίων γεωργῶν, and supposes that the payment is for the rent (ἐκφόριον) of the cultivators of imperial domain-land. This view that γεωργῶν is to be supplied is derived from Kenyon's explanation of this class of papyri, viz. that they record repayments by the δημόσιοι γεωργοί of the seed corn advanced to them by the government; though Kenyon's reading δη(μόσιον) (γεωργόν) in Brit. Mus. Pap. 315. 8, &c. and the reference to the seed corn are shown by Wilcken to be unsatisfactory. It is clear from other instances, e.g. Brit. Mus. Pap. 180. 2, that δη(μοσίων), i.e. ὑπὲρ δημοσίων, must be read; and since the question of a repayment of seed corn does not arise in the case of the payments by private individuals ὑπὲρ κατοίκων and κληρούχων, some other explanation is to be sought for in the case of payments ὑπὲρ δημοσίων. Wilcken's own explanation of δημοσίων however is not free from difficulty. In the first place it is noticeable that although in sitologus receipts (ὑπὲρ) δημοσίων is common, (ὑπὲρ) δημοσίων γεωργῶν is never found. Secondly, though the ἐκφόριον of δη(μόσιοι) γεω(ργοί) apparently occurs in lxxxvi together with payments (ὑπὲρ) δη(μοσίων), the wording of the entries is different in the two cases, and the payments for ἐκφόριον are not stated to be (ὑπὲρ) δη(μοσίων). Moreover receipts for payment of ἐκφόριον by δημόσιοι γεωργοί are extant (e.g. a Tebtunis papyrus of the reign of Gaius, and probably lxxxviii), which have nothing to do with sitologi at all. Thirdly in lxxxiii we find persons paying for both δημοσίων and κατοίκων simultaneously. If these individuals were really the tax-payers and not the tax-collectors (*v. inf.*), it is curious that a δημόσιος γεωργός should also be an owner of catoecic land.

An alternative explanation for the phrase ὑπὲρ δη(μοσίων) would be to take δημοσίων (as Wilcken himself formerly did) to be neuter, sc. τελεσμάτων, and to treat these payments ὑπὲρ δημοσίων as payments of land-tax by ordinary land-owners, having no connexion with δημόσιοι γεωργοί. The phrase τὰ τῆς γῆς δημόσια in the general sense of taxes upon land frequently occurs in leases. But the difficulty then arises—what was the distinction between the persons who paid ὑπὲρ δημοσίων and those who paid ὑπὲρ κληρούχων? Though κληροῦχος has a technical sense in Fayûm papyri of the third century B.C., it seems to be in the Roman period no more than a general term for land-owner as contrasted with a γεωργός or tenant (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 185); and it is not satisfactory to suppose that the land-tax was called ὑπὲρ κληρούχων when paid by the landlord, and ὑπὲρ δημοσίων when paid by the tenant. Another objection to taking δημοσίων as neuter is that the analogy of payments ὑπὲρ κατοίκων and κληρούχων leads us to expect a masculine. On the whole therefore the view

that *δημοσίων* is for *δημοσίων γεωργῶν* is preferable. There are in fact a few papyri where *γεωργῶν* is clearly omitted after *δημοσίων* (Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. p. 144); and—what is more important—no other view provides a satisfactory explanation for the persons who are constantly found paying *ὑπὲρ δημοσίων* and are called *οἱ ἀπό* followed by a village-name differing from that in which the payment is made. The substantive to be supplied with *οἱ* is undoubtedly *γεωργοί*; cf. lxxxvi (*a*). 10 with lxxxvi. 9, 10, and Brit. Mus. Pap. 315. 9 *διὰ* [*γ*]*εωργ*(*ῶν*)[1] *Σοκνο*(*παίου*) *Νήσου* with Gr. Pap. II. xlvii. 7 *διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου*[2]. A further comparison of these *γεωργοί* domiciled in one village and cultivating land in another with C. P. R. I. 33 and Pap. Gen. 81 leads to the conclusion that all these persons called *οἱ ἀπό* . . . who pay *ὑπὲρ δημοσίων* were *δημόσιοι γεωργοί*. Those two papyri are both lists of parcels of *δημοσία γῆ*, in the one case coupled with personal names, in the other with names of villages, and the *δημόσιοι γεωργοί* are divided into (*a*) those *ἀπό* or *ἐκ τῆς κώμης*, who lived in the village where they cultivated *δημοσία γῆ*, and (*b*) the *ἄποικοι* (Pap. Gen. 81. 19, cf. C. P. R. I. 33. 24), who lived in a different village. This system of classification exactly corresponds with the distinctions in lxxxvi. 9–10 and lxxxvi (*a*). 8–10 between the persons who pay *ὑπὲρ δημοσίων*, an advantage which seems to outweigh the objections to the view that *ὑπὲρ δημοσίων* is equivalent to *ὑπὲρ δημοσίων γεωργῶν*. It remains however to account for the payment by the same person of sums *ὑπὲρ κατοίκων* and *ὑπὲρ δημοσίων* (*v. sup.*) and to show why in e.g. Brit. Mus. Pap. 315 the payments from *δημόσιοι γεωργοί* were accredited to a single individual.

This leads us to the other question in this series of receipts, the position of the persons making the payments. Wilcken (*Ost.* I. pp. 659–60 and *Archiv*, I. p. 143) holds that the tax-collectors are not mentioned, and that the individuals who are found in these receipts with a variety of constructions (nominative, *εἰς* with acc., *εἰς ὄνομα*, or *ὀνόματος*) are the tax-payers. His arguments are (1) the analogy of the ostraca of the same period with a similar (but by no means identical) formula, in which the tax-payers, not the tax-collectors, are mentioned; (2) the fact that in several cases more than one individual is found making payments, which is certainly more intelligible on the hypothesis that tax-payers are meant; (3) an ostracon at Gizeh with a heading [*ἀντ*]*ίγρ*(*αφον*) *ἀποχ*(*ῆς*) *ἧς ἐξεδόμην* [*Π*]*αμώ*(*νθη*?) *καὶ Σηφ* . . . *καὶ μ*(*ετόχοις*) which proceeds *μέ*(*τρημα*) *θησ*(*αυροῦ*) . . . *ὀνόματος*, followed by persons whose names have not been deciphered but who are different from those found in

[1] This reading (proposed by Kenyon) seems to be the best. Our previous suggestion *κ*]*ωμαρ*(*χῶν*) is undoubtedly wrong; and we are unable to reconcile Wilcken's reading [*τ*]*ῶν ἀ*(*πό*) with the facsimile.

[2] The name of the tax which came at the end of line 6 of this papyrus is unfortunately obliterated but was probably *δημοσίων*. Our reading *ἐν θ*(*η*(*σαυρῷ*) is wrong. Read *ξυ*[*στ*(*ῷ*) *δη*(*μοσίων*) *Β*]*ουβ*(*άστου*).

the heading. The first and third arguments are not very convincing, because the ostraca themselves show that a large degree of variation in the formulae of tax-receipts was simultaneously possible in different parts of Egypt, and in the Ptolemaic period the receipts of sitologi generally mention the tax-collector and omit the tax-payer. But the explanation of Wilcken is confirmed by two receipts in the present volume (lxxxiii and cccxlii) and by one from Tebtunis, in all of which the person in the nominative or with εἰς is a woman; and we should not have been disposed to doubt its correctness in all cases, if it were not for the occurrence in a considerable number of these sitologus receipts, especially in the present volume, of a second class of persons introduced by διά, who are different from the persons in the nominative or with εἰς ὄνομα, &c. These persons are found in Gr. Pap. II. xlvii. 7, Brit. Mus. Pap. 315. 9, lxxxiv. 9 διὰ Πετοσίρεως, and clxii διὰ Τεσενούφεως. In lxxxii. 19 διὰ κληρούχων no name of an individual, whether tax-payer or tax-collector, is given; in lxxxvi and lxxxvi (*a*) the payments are regularly described as διά certain persons. If the persons in the nominative or with εἰς ὄνομα, &c., are the tax-payers, who are these persons introduced by διά? They cannot be the tax-collectors, in spite of the analogy of διὰ πρακτόρων in money-receipts, for it is impossible that the κληροῦχοι in lxxxii. 19 and lxxxvi, or the δημόσιοι γεωργοί in lxxxvi, were the tax-collectors. In the cases where the payment is ὑπὲρ κατοίκων or κληρούχων the persons introduced by διά are to be explained as the tenants who actually make the payment, as distinct from the landlord to whom the land-tax, whether paid by himself (e.g. lxxxiii) or his tenant (e.g. lxxxiv), was accredited; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 115, where γεωργοί appear in similar receipts making payments on behalf of their landlords. But in the case of payments ὑπὲρ δημοσίων, e.g. Brit. Mus. Pap. 315, since there is no relationship of landlord and tenant, a somewhat different explanation must be found. Either the persons in the nominative are the heads or superintendents of an association of δημόσιοι γεωργοί or else they are the tax-collectors. In favour of the first hypothesis is the analogy of the receipts ὑπὲρ κατοίκων and κληρούχων which, so far as we can judge, omit the tax-collector. It is not very satisfactory to suppose that the persons to whom these receipts were made out were in some cases the tax-payers, in others the tax-collectors. Nevertheless several of the receipts ὑπὲρ δημοσίων are in some ways more intelligible on the view that the tax-collector is the person to whom the payments are credited, especially those in which the sums paid are very large (e.g. Brit. Mus. Pap. 180), and those in which the same person pays both ὑπὲρ δημοσίων and ὑπὲρ κατοίκων (e.g. lxxxv). It is therefore not certain that in every case the persons in the nominative or with εἰς are the tax-payers.

The present papyrus is an acknowledgement by sitologi of the receipt of 26$\frac{5}{6}$ artabae of wheat 'for the *κάτοικοι* of Theadelphia' from Athenarion. The amount consisted of land-tax upon *κάτοικοι* and some extra payments, but the loss of the beginnings of lines renders a few points obscure.

[(Ἔτους) ὀκτωκ]αιδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
[Νερούα] Τραιανοῦ Ἀρίστου Σεβαστοῦ
[Γερμα]νικοῦ, μηνὸ(ς) Καισαρείο(υ) ιβ. Δίδυμος
[καὶ μ(έτοχοι) σιτολ(όγοι)] τοπαρχ(ίας) Θεαδελφεί(ας) καὶ ἄλλων
[κωμῶν με]μετρήμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων
[τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος)] ὀκτωικαιδεκάτου ἔτους Ἀθηναρί(ων)
Συντ( ) εἰς Φιλ. ( ) Ἀφροδ( )
[. . . . . . .] . ι( ) Θεαδελφεί(ας) κατοί(κων) (πυροῦ) μέτρῳ δημοσί[ῳ
[ξυστῷ ἀρ]τάβας εἴκοσι δύο ἥμισυ,
[. . . . . . .] ἐπιβολῆς πυρ[ο]ῦ δύο δίμυρον,
[. . . . . . .]φης πυροῦ ἥμ[ι]συ τρίτον
[ἕκτον], / τοῦ πυροῦ (ἀρτάβαι) κϛ ϛ', καὶ τὰ προ(σ)μ(ετρούμενα).
2nd hand [Δίδυμος με]μέτρημ(αι) πυροῦ ἀρτ(άβας) εἴκοσι ἓξ [ἕκ]τον, / (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κϛ ϛ'.
3rd hand (?) [. . . . .]εις μεμέτρημ(αι) πυροῦ ἐπα[ιτ(ον)] ἀρτ(άβας) εἴκοσι ἓξ
[ἕκτον, / (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κ]ϛ ϛ', καὶ τὰ προ(σ)μ(ετρούμενα).

2. τραϊανου Pap. 9. l. δίμοιρον.

'The eighteenth year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Optimus Augustus Germanicus, the 12th of the month Caesareus. We, Didymus and partners, sitologi of the toparchy of Theadelphia and other villages, have had measured to us from the produce of the present eighteenth year by Athenarion . . . for the catoeci of Theadelphia twenty-two and a half artabae of wheat by smoothed public measure, for the extra charge two and two-thirds artabae of wheat, for . . . five-sixths of an artaba of wheat, total 26$\frac{5}{6}$ artabae of wheat and the additional payments.' Signatures of two sitologi.

4. For the supplement cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. 295. 1 σιτολόγ(οι) τοπαρχ(ίας) Διονυσιάδ[ος.

7. The abbreviation κατοίκ(ων) is written very cursively, the letters between the κ and ι losing any distinctive shape; but there is more than κοι, to which the abbreviation was generally reduced (cf. introd. to xli, lxxxiv. 9 and B. G. U. 716. 12, where κ(ατ)οί(κων) preceded by a village name is perhaps to be read). The meaning of the abbreviated entry over the line is uncertain; most probably Συντ( ) is the name of a village (cf. lxxxvi. 13), the home of Athenarion who paid land-tax at Theadelphia upon catoecic land leased to him there by Φιλ( ) Ἀφροδ( ), to whom therefore, as the landowner, the payment was accredited; cf. introd.

8. [ξυστῷ]: cf. lxxxiv. 7, &c. The corn was not heaped up, but only allowed to fill the measure which was then 'smoothed' with a piece of wood; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. 769[2].

9. On *ἐπιβολή* see Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 193, and cf. B. G. U. 515. 7 *τὰ ὑπὲρ λογείας ἐπιβληθέντα*, and 519. 15 *τῶν δημοσίων καὶ ἀννωνῶν καὶ παντοίων ἐπιβολῶν*. What the precise nature of the *ἐπιβολή* was and whether it was regular or an extraordinary contribution is uncertain. Possibly here it or the payment in the next line has some connexion with the *διχοινικία* or extra charge of $\frac{1}{24}$ in Brit. Mus. Pap. 193. The tax of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 artabae on the aroura in that papyrus is, we conjecture, the land-tax upon catoecic land (the *ναύβιον* which occurs frequently there falls on *κάτοικοι*; cf. introd. to xli). Cf. Wilcken, *ibid.* pp. 194 sqq.

10. Perhaps [*ἐπιγρα*]*φῆς*, on which tax see Wilcken, *ibid.* pp. 195 sqq.

11. The *προσμετρούμενα* in receipts for taxes paid in kind are the equivalent of the *προσδιαγραφόμενα* in the case of those paid in money. In Brit. Mus. Pap. 193 the *προσμετρούμενα* amount to about $\frac{1}{8}$, in lxxxvi to about $\frac{1}{7}$ of the main sum.

13. *ἐπα*[*ιτ*(*ον*)]: cf. lxxxiii. 9 and B. G. U. 792. 12. The meaning is obscure.

LXXXII. Receipt for Payment in Kind.

Harit. 20·5 × 8·5 *cm.* A.D. 145.

Acknowledgement by the sitologi of Berenicis-on-shore of the payment of $74\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{4}$ artabae of wheat and $38\frac{2}{3}$ artabae of barley from the *κληροῦχοι* of Berenicis and others; cf. introd. to lxxxi.

Ὦρος Ἥρωνος καὶ ο[*ἱ*
μέτ[*ο*]*χ*[*ο*]*ι σιτολόγοι κώμης*
Βερνικίδος Αἰγιαλοῦ [*με-*
μετρήμεθα τῇ κα
καὶ κβ τοῦ Μεσορὴ μηνὸς
{*τοῦ Μεσορὴ μηνὸς*} *τοῦ*
ἐνεστῶτος η (*ἔτους*) *Ἀντωνείνου*
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου γεν[*η*(*μάτων*)
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους πυροῦ μέ-
τρῳ δημοσίῳ ἀρτάβας
ἑβδομήκοντα τρίτον
τετρακαιεικ[*ο*]*στόν, ὧν*
κλη[*ρ*]*ούχων Βερνικ*(*ίδος*) (*πυροῦ ἀρτάβας*) *ξη ϛʹ* [*κδʹʹ*,
τελωνικ(*ῆς*) *ἀτελ*(*είας*) *Ἀδριανῆ*[*ς*
οὐσία[*ς*] *μισθ*(   ) (*πρότερον*) *Ἰουλίου*
Ἀσκ[*λη*]*πιάδου* (*πυροῦ ἀρτάβας*) *α γη*,
Ἀπολλωνιάδος κληρού(*χων*)
(*πυροῦ ἀρτάβας*) *βκδ*, / *αἱ π*(*ροκείμεναι*).

καὶ τῇ κδ διὰ κληρούχ(ων)
(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ (ἥμισυ) ιβ″, καὶ
κριθῆς ἀρτάβας τριά-
κοντα ὀκτὼ δίμοιρον,
/ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ (ἥμισυ) ιβ″, κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) λη β′.
Ὧρος Ἥρωνος καὶ οἱ μέτοχοι
[σιτολό]γοι διὰ Χαιρήμονος θη-
α̣[. . . .] . φο̣υ μεμετρήμεθα
τὰς τοῦ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) οδ (ἥμισυ) γη, κριθ(ῆς)
(ἀρτάβας) λη β′ [

. . . .

21. κριθ written over an obliterated word. 25. δ of δια corr. from χ.

3. Berenicis Αἰγιαλοῦ was on the shore of Lake Moeris, probably to the north of Ḳaṣr el Banât; cf. p. 14.

14. τελωνικ(ῆς) ἀτελ(είας): cf. xl. 3 ἀποστήσιμον τελωνικῆς ἀτελ(είας) and B. G. U. 199 *verso* 1, where a payment ὑπὲρ θυιῶν is coupled with τελωνικῆς ἀτελείας. It is clear from the present passage that this curiously named charge fell upon the μισθωταὶ οὐσιακοί, i.e. the lessees of the οὐσίαι belonging to the emperor; cf. introd. to xl.

15. πρότερον is expressed by α′, as in lxxxvii. I. 6. The Julius Asclepiades here is probably identical with the 'philosopher' mentioned there.

25–6. Νοί θησαυροφύ(λακος).

LXXXIII. Receipt for Payment in Kind.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 28·5 × 8·2 *cm.* A.D. 163.

Acknowledgement by the sitologi of Euhemeria of a payment of $4\frac{9}{24}$ artabae of wheat 'for the κάτοικοι of Euhemeria' to the account of Sarapias, daughter of Sarapion. On the importance of this papyrus see introd. to lxxxi.

[Ἔτους τρ]ίτου Ἀν[τ]ωνίνου
[καὶ Οὐ]ήρου τῶν κυρίων
Σ[εβαστῶν], Ἐπεὶφ κη. Σαβεῖνος
καὶ ο[ἱ μέτο]χ(οι) σιτολ(όγοι) Εὐημερείας
μ[εμε]τρήμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν
γενη(μάτων) τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) εἰς
Σαραπιάδα Σαραπίωνος

Εὐη(μερείας) κ(ατ)οί(κων) (πυροῦ) μ[έτρῳ δη]μοσίῳ
[ξ]υστ[ῷ ἔ]παιτον ἀρτάβ(ας) τέσσα-
ρ[ας τρίτ]ον τετρακαιεικοστόν,
/ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ γκδ, καὶ τὰ προσμετρούμ(ενα).

LXXXIV. Receipt for Payment in Kind.

Ûmm el 'Atl. Gizeh Inv. no. 10224. 12·2 × 10·8 *cm.* A.D. 163.

Acknowledgement by the sitologi of Νέστου ἐποίκ(ιον), a village near Bacchias, of the payment of $1\frac{1}{8}$ artabae of wheat 'for the κάτοικοι of Hephaestias.' The payment is made by Petosiris, probably a γεωργός, to the account of Kopes (?); cf. introd. to lxxxi.

Ἔτ[ου]ς τρίτου Αὐτοκρ[άτορος] Καίσαρος
Μά[ρκου] Αὐρηλίου Ἀν[τω]νίνου
Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτ[ορο]ς Καίσαρος
Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Σεβαστοῦ,
Μεχεὶρ ιδ. Κρίων Ζωΐλου καὶ μέ-
τοχ(οι) σιτολ(όγοι) Νέστου ἐποικ(ίου) μεμετρή-
μεθα μέτρῳ δη(μοσίῳ) ξυστῷ ἐκ τοῦ
γενή(ματος) τοῦ διελ(ηλυθότος) β (ἔτους) εἰς Κοπῆν Ἁρ-
πάλου διὰ Πετοσίρεως Ἡφαι(στιάδος) κ(ατ)οί(κων)
(πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) μίαν ἕκτον, γ(ίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) α ϛ́,
καὶ τούτων τὰ προσ(μετρούμενα).

5. ζωῖλου Pap.

LXXXV. Receipt for Payment in Kind.

Harît. 19·7 × 9·3 *cm.* A.D. 247.

Acknowledgement by the *decemprimi*, who in the third century take the place of the σιτολόγοι in this class of receipts (cf. B. G. U. 579), of $60\frac{3}{4}$ artabae of wheat and $6\frac{3}{4}$ artabae of barley ὑπὲρ δημοσίων, and 3 artabae ὑπὲρ κατοίκων, paid by Patereus; cf. introd. to lxxxi. The papyrus incidentally shows that

the *decemprimi* were not all members of the βουλή (cf. note on line 3). A remarkable extra charge occurs in lines 12–13.

The writing is on the *verso*, the *recto* being blank; the papyrus is a real exception to the rule that the *recto* is first used.

Αὐρήλιοι Ὡρείων ἐξηγητεύσας πρυ-
τανεύσας καὶ Ἡρᾶς γυμ(νασίαρχος) καὶ Τούρβων
κοσμητ(ὴς) καὶ ἐξηγητεύσας βουλευταὶ
καὶ Σερῆνος γυμ(νασίαρχος) πάντες τῆς Ἀρσι(νοιτῶν) πόλ(εως)
δεκάπρωτοι ϛ καὶ η τοπαρχίας Θεμ(ίστου),
ἐμετρήθησαν ἐν θησ(αυρῷ) κώ(μης) Θεαδελφίας
ἀπὸ γενη(μάτων) γ (ἔτους) ὑπὲρ δημοσ[ί]ω̣(ν) αὐτῆς ὀνόματος Πατερεῦτος
ἀπάτορος μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ξυστῷ
πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἑξήκοντα ἥμισυ τέταρ-
τον, γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ξ (ἥμισυ τέταρτον), κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) ϛ (ἥμισυ τέταρτον), καὶ ὑπὲρ κατοίκων
τῆς αὐτῆς πυροῦ ἀρτάβας τρεῖς,
γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) γ· ἔσχομεν δὲ ὑ̣π̣(ὲρ) τοῦ π̣υροῦ
τοὺς ὀβολούς. (ἔτους) δ Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου
Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Μάρκου Ἰουλίου
Φιλίππου γενναιοτάτου καὶ [ἐ]πιφανεστάτου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν, Τῦβι κγ.
2nd hand Αὐρή(λιος) Σερῆνος γυμ(νασίαρχος) σεση(μείωμαι). (3rd hand) Αὐρήλιος
Τούρβων κοσ(μητὴς) καὶ ἐξηγη(τεύσας) βου(λευτὴς)
σεσημ[ε]ίωμαι.

7. απο γενη γ (ετους) and αυτης over the line. 9, 11. l. ἀρτάβαι. 10. κριθ (αρταβαι) ϛ (ημισυ τεταρτον) over the line. 12. του over the line. πυρου corr. from τ̣ουτ̣ρ̣υ.

3. βουλευταί: from the position which this word occupies it appears that Serenus who follows was not a βουλευτής; cf. line 18 where βουλευτής does not occur in his signature. The opinion of Menadier (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 626) that the δεκάπρωτοι were not necessarily βουλευταί is therefore confirmed against the view of Waddington adopted by Wilcken.

12. The reading ὑπ(ὲρ) is very doubtful, but there is some word between δέ and πυροῦ. The nature of this extra charge is quite obscure. If it corresponds to the προσμετρούμενα found e.g. in lxxxi. 11, it is remarkable that it should be in money. The mention of obols suggests a comparison with the ναύβιον and κόλλυβος taxes (introd. to xli) which are associated with (probably) the land-tax in Brit. Mus. Pap. 193.

LXXXVI. Account of a Sitologus.

Harit. 23·4 x 11·2 *cm.* Second century.

An account of payments of wheat, barley, and lentils received during the month Phaophi from various classes of persons in several villages; cf. B. G. U. 835, lxxxvi (*a*), ccc, and cccxl. Three kinds of payments occur: (1) (ὑπὲρ) δη(μοσίων), i.e. rent of holdings paid by δημόσιοι γεωργοί (cf. introd. to lxxxi); (2) δι( ) φο( ), a small charge more or less proportionate to that for δη(μοσίων). δι stands for δι(αφόρου) and φο for φο(ρέτρου), as is shown by lxxxvi (*a*). 11, and an Amherst papyrus in which διαφόρου φορέτρου occurs. The charges for freight are kept separate throughout the papyrus, and are added up separately in line 2, though included in the grand total in lines 1 and 27. Another payment is found in line 3 in connexion with the δημόσιοι γεωργοί and consists of two abbreviated words, διοι(κήσεως) ἐκφο(ρίου), so that it is really identical with the first; see introd. to lxxxi. Payments of land-tax by κληροῦχοι also occur several times, but κάτοικοι are not mentioned.

The villages from which the tax-payers came are Theadelphia, Euhemeria, Polydeucia, Dionysias, Philagris, Philoteris, Autodice and two others, all of which were in the division of Themistes, and Oxyrhyncha in the division of Polemo.

On the *verso* is a tax-receipt (lxiv).

1 [Συ]νήχθ(ησαν) εἰσδοχ(ῆς) τοῦ Φαῶ(φι) τοῦ γ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ λη(μμάτων) β
(ἔτους) διοι(κήσεως) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) υκγ (τέταρτον), κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι)
ρθ (ἥμισυ τέταρτον),

2 φακ(οῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ρκ ιβ'', δι(αφόρου) φο(ρέτρου) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ε $\overline{\beta\eta}$, κρι(θῆς)
(ἀρτάβη) α (ἥμισυ) γ', φ(ακοῦ) (ἀρτάβης) (ἥμισυ) ιβ''. ὧ̣ν̣

3 Θεα(δελφείας) δι(ὰ) δη(μοσίων) γεω(ργῶν) διοι(κήσεως) ἐ̣κ̣φο(ρίου) (πυροῦ
ἀρτάβαι) ξη η', κρι(θῆς) ἀρτάβαι δ $\overline{\gamma\kappa[\delta]}$, φ(ακοῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) να $\overline{\beta\kappa\delta}$,

4 π̣ρ̣οσ(μετρούμενα) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) θ (ἥμισυ) γ', κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβης) (ἥμισυ)
η', φ(ακοῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ ιβ'', / (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) οη (ἥμισυ), κρι(θῆς)
(ἀρτάβαι) ε $\overline{\gamma\kappa\delta}$, φ(ακοῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ξγ $\overline{\beta\eta}$,

5 [. . . .] . κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβης) (τέταρτον), φ[α]κ̣(οῦ) (ἀρτάβης) . η', καὶ δι(ὰ)
[κ]λ̣η̣(ρούχων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ (ἥμισυ), / κώ(μης) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι)
πγ καὶ τὰ γ( ),

6 [κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) ε (ἥμισυ) η', φ(ακοῦ) (ἀρτάβης) . . .] κ̅δ̅. Εὐη(μερείας)
δη(μοσίων) δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Θε(αδελφείας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) οη (ἥμισυ)
κ̅δ̅, κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) δ β̅κ̅δ̅,
7 φακοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) κδ,
8 δι(ὰ) κλη(ρούχων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιβ ιβ'', κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) ιθ (ἥμισυ)
[κδ]'', / κώ(μης) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ϙ (ἥμισυ) η', κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) κδ
(τέταρτον), φ(ακοῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) κδ.
9 Πολ(υδευκείας) δη(μοσίων) δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ τ(ῆς) κώ(μης) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι)
α γ̅[̅ι̅β̅], δι(αφόρου) φο(ρέτρου) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) κ̣δ̣'',
10 καὶ δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Θε(αδελφείας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) λβ, κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι)
κη γ̅ι̅β̅, φ(ακοῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) δ . κ̅δ̅, δι(αφόρου) φο(ρέτρου) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης)
(ἥμισυ) ιβ'', κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβης) (ἥμισυ),
11 φ(ακοῦ) (ἀρτάβης) ιβ'',
12 καὶ δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαγ(ρίδος) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) η, δι(αφόρου) φο(ρέτρου) ϛ',
13 καὶ δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Συντ( ) φ(ακοῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) κζ, δι(αφόρου) φο(ρέτρου) φ(ακοῦ)
(ἀρτάβης) (ἥμισυ),
14 καὶ δι(ὰ) κλη(ρούχων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ε (ἥμισυ), δι(αφόρου) φο(ρέτρου) η',
/ κώ(μης) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) μϛ (ἥμισυ) γ̅ι̅β̅, κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) κη γ̅ι̅β̅.
15 [. . . . .] φ(ακοῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) λ̣α̣ . κ̅δ̅, δι(αφόρου) φο(ρέτρου) (πυροῦ
ἀρτάβης) (ἥμισυ) γ̅ι̅β̅, κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβης) [(ἥμισυ)], φ(ακοῦ) (ἀρτάβης)
(ἥμισυ) ιβ''.
16 [. . . ( ) δη(μοσίων) δι(ὰ) τῶ]ν ἀπὸ Θε(αδελφείας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ γ̅η̅,
17 [καὶ δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλ]ω̣τ(ερίδος ?) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ο̣, [/ κ]ώ̣(μης) (πυροῦ
ἀρτάβαι) οδ γ̅η̅.
18 Διον̣υ̣(σιάδος) δη(μοσίων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ν. Φιλαγ(ρίδος) [δι(ὰ) κ]λ̣η(ρούχων)
(πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) η (ἥμισυ) η', δι(αφόρου) φο(ρέτρου) ϛ'.
19 Φιλωτ(ερίδος) δι(ὰ) κλη(ρούχων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ζ γ̅κ̅δ̅.
20 Αὐτοδ(ίκης) δη(μοσίων) δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Θε(αδελφείας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ϛ γ̅η̅,
δι(αφόρου) φο(ρέτρου) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ϛ' κ̅δ̅.
21 Ἀ.( ) δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Θε(αδελφείας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β κδ'', δι(αφόρου)
φο(ρέτρου) ιβ''.
22 καὶ ὑπ(ὲρ) λη(μμάτων) Πολέ(μωνος) Ὀξυρύγχ(ων) δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Θε(αδελ-
φείας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) μζ (ἥμισυ) γ̅η̅,
23 δι(αφόρου) φο(ρέτρου) δ γ̅ι̅β̅,

καὶ δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Συντ( ) κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) ιγ (ἥμισυ) η', δι(αφόρου) φο(ρέτρου) α γ',
/ κώ(μης) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) μζ (ἥμισυ) γη, κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) ιγ (ἥμισυ) η', δι(αφόρου) φο(ρέτρου) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ γιβ, κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) α γ'.
καὶ ὑπ(ὲρ) λη(μμάτων) α (ἔτους) Θεαδελ(φείας) δι(ὰ) δη(μοσίων) γεω(ργῶν) κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) λϛ.
/ αἱ π(ροκείμεναι) διοι(κήσεως) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) υκγ (τέταρτον), κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) ρθ (ἥμισυ τέταρτον), φ(ακοῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ρκ ιβ''.

10. *η γιβ* in the entry for *κρι(θῆς)* is written above the line over an erasure.

1. *διοι(κήσεως)*: the word is here used apparently in its limited sense applying to payments on behalf of the government as opposed to payments on behalf of the temples; cf. xli. I. 12.

The correctness of the totals in this line and the next can be verified in five out of the six items; owing to the lacunae in lines 5 and 10 in the fractions of two amounts of lentils we are not able to fill up the lacunae there.

4. Out of the three totals obtained by adding the *προσμετρούμενα* to the preceding sum, two, the $78\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat and the $5\frac{9}{24}$ artabae of barley are not quite correct, $68\frac{1}{2}+9\frac{3}{8}$ artabae of wheat making a total of $77\frac{7}{8}$, and $4\frac{3}{8}+\frac{5}{8}$ artabae of barley making 5. The addition of the lentils is right.

5. The lacuna at the beginning of the line no doubt contained a statement of the nature of the two small payments which follow. *δι(αφόρου) φο(ρέτρου)* is out of the question, for these two payments are not included in the freight total in line 2. *δη(μοσίων)* followed by *δι(ὰ)* . . . is more likely.

καὶ τὰ γ( ): the meaning of this phrase (cf. cccxxxix) is obscure.

6. *τῶν ἀπὸ Θε(αδελφείας)*: *γεωργοί* whose domicile was at Theadelphia but who cultivated land at Euhemeria; cf. line 9 and lxxxvi (*a*). 8–9, and introd. to lxxxi.

9. *Πολ(υδευκείας)*: this village was near Theadelphia; cf. cviii. 11 and p. 14.

LXXXVI (*a*). Account of Sitologi.

Harît. 23·6 × 19·5 *cm*. A.D. 161–169.

An account of receipts during ten days by the sitologi of Theadelphia. The payments are made partly by *δημόσιοι γεωργοί*, partly by *κληροῦχοι*, and there are small charges for freight; cf. introd. to lxxxi and lxxxvi. The first two lines are a later addition in a smaller, but probably not different, hand. On the *verso* is a short account.

].
]κδ *κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) ρκϛ γκδ φακοῦ (ἀρτάβαι)* [.]Ϡ[
] *καὶ μέτοχ(οι) σιτολ(όγοι) Θεαδελφείας*

]. ἀπὸ α ἕως ι τοῦ Ἐπεὶφ μηνὸς
[τοῦ . . . . ἔτους] Ἀντωνείνου καὶ Οὐήρου κυρίων
[ἀπὸ τῶν γενη(μάτων)] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) Γω[[ν]]ϛ (ἥμισυ τρίτον) η', ὧν
[διὰ δημοσίω(ν) γεω]ργῶ(ν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) Β϶οβ β', φορέτ(ρου) κλ( ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ε $\overline{γκδ}$,
/ διὰ δημοσίω(ν) γεωργῶ(ν) [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι)] Β϶οηκ'δ', καὶ διὰ κληρούχω(ν)
(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) Σπα (ἥμισυ) η', / κώ(μης) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ΓΣνθ β', καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων κω(μῶν)
Πολυδευκ(είας) δημοσίω(ν) διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Θεαδελφ(είας) γεωργῶ(ν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) τοδ (ἥμισυ) ι'β',
διαφόρου (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ϛ (ἥμισυ) κ'δ'.

2. $\overline{γκδ}$ is written above the line over an erasure.

7. κλ(ηρούχων) naturally suggests itself (cf. cccxxxviii); but the payment is by δημόσιοι γεωργοί.

10. Cf. lxxxvi. 9–10 and introd. to lxxxi.

11. διαφόρου: sc. φορέτρου. Cf. introd. to lxxxvi.

LXXXVII. Payment through a Bank.

Kaṣr el Banât. 22·8 × 30·9 *cm.* A.D. 155.

Receipt for various sums paid into a local bank, probably at Euhemeria, by the overseers of some estates belonging to the corporation (οἶκος) of the city of Alexandria. These were situated at Euhemeria, and had formerly belonged to a 'philosopher' named Julius Asclepiades (cf. lxxxii. 15), who had presumably bequeathed them to the city; and it is the rentals (φόρος) of these estates, which were managed by ἐπιτηρηταί, that are the subject of the receipt. The document is of much interest, not only as affording an indication of some of the sources from which the wealth of Alexandria was derived and the manner of their acquisition, but also as an illustration of the development reached at this period by the banking system. The money paid into a local bank in the Fayûm was to be paid out to a person at Alexandria. This person would naturally not have to wait for the coin to be actually transported. The mutual relations and organization of the local bank and the bank at the capital were such that money paid into the one could be drawn at the other.

The papyrus is written in a remarkable hand, which presents at first

sight an almost Byzantine appearance, mainly due to the thickening of the extremities of the rather large and heavy semiuncial letters.

Col. I.

῎Ετους ιη Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλί[ο]υ
Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς,
Μεχ(εὶρ) κζ. ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τ(ὴν) Τίτου Φλ(αουίου) Εὐτυχ(ίδου) τράπ(εζαν) Εὐ-
δαίμων Σαραπίωνος κ(αὶ) μέτοχ(οι) ἐπιτηρηταὶ
ὑπαρχόντων οἴκου πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρέων
(πρότερον) Ἰουλίου Ἀσκληπιάδου φιλοσόφο(υ) ὄντων περὶ
κώμ(ην) Εὐημερείαν εἰς φόρο(ν) ιζ (ἔτους) τάλαντ[ο]ν
ἓν καὶ δραχ(μὰς) τετρακισχειλίας ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ
ἴσον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δοθῆναι τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν
στεμμάτων προκεχι(ρισμένῳ), / (τάλαντον) α (δραχμαὶ) ᾿Δ.
᾿Επεὶφ η, ὁ αὐτ(ὸς) κ(αὶ) μέτοχ(οι) ὁμ(οίως) εἰς φόρο(ν) ιζ (ἔτους)
τάλαντον ἓν κ(αὶ) δραχ(μὰς) χειλίας τετρα-
κοσίας, / ὡς πρόκ(ειται) (τάλαντον) α (δραχμαὶ) ᾿Αυ.
ιθ (ἔτους), Φαῶφι ι, ὁ αὐτ(ὸς) κ(αὶ) μέτοχ(οι) ὁμ(οίως) εἰς
φόρο(ν) ιη (ἔτους) δραχ(μὰς) χειλίας, / ὡς πρόκ(ειται) (δραχμαὶ) ᾿Α.
Ἀδριανοῦ η ὁ αὐτ(ὸς) κ(αὶ) μέτοχ(οι) ὁμ(οίως) εἰς φόρο(ν)
[ιη (ἔτους) δ]ραχ(μὰς) χειλίας ὀκ[τακ]οσίας, / ὡς πρόκ(ειται) [(δραχμαὶ) ᾿Αω.
[Φαμε]νὼ[θ] ζ, [ὁ αὐτ(ὸς) κ(αὶ) μέ]τοχ(οι) ε[ἰς φό]ρ[ο(ν)
ιη (ἔτους) [δρα]χ(μὰς) δισχ[ε]ιλία[ς, / ὡ]ς πρόκ(ειται) (δραχμαὶ) ᾿Β.
᾿Επεὶφ ε, ὁ αὐτ(ὸς) κ(αὶ) μέτ[οχ(οι)] εἰς φόρο(ν) ιη (ἔτους) δρα[χ(μὰς)
δισχειλίας, / ὡς πρόκ(ειται) (δραχμαὶ) ᾿Β.

Col. II.

κ (ἔτους), Φαῶφι ε, [ὁ αὐτ(ὸς) κ(αὶ) μέτ]οχ(οι) εἰς φόρ[ο(ν)
ιη (ἔτους) δραχ(μὰς) [χ]ειλία[ς . . . .]κοσίας, / ὡς
πρόκ(ειται) (δραχμαὶ) ᾿Α[.

5. ὑπαρχοντων Pap. 9. ϊσον Pap. 10. ᾿Δ· Pap.; so ᾿Αυ· in 13 and similarly in 15, 21. 11. ö Pap.; so in 14, 16, 20.

'The 18th year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Mecheir 27. Paid into the bank of Titus Flavius Eutychides by Eudaemon, son of Sarapion, and partners, overseers of the property belonging to the corporation

of the city of Alexandria and formerly to Julius Asclepiades the philosopher, situated at the village of Euhemeria, for the rent of the 17th year, one talent and four thousand drachmae, on condition that an equivalent amount should be paid at Alexandria to the official in charge of the *stemmata*, total 1 tal. 4000 dr. Epeiph 8, by the same person and his partners, as before for the rent of the 17th year, one talent one thousand four hundred drachmae, total as above written 1 tal. 1400 dr.' &c.

I. 5. οἴκου πόλεως: cf. lxxxviii. 5, where the phrase recurs, πόλεως apparently there referring to Arsinoë. A similar use of the word οἶκος is found in Ox. Pap. I. 127. 1 ὁ ἔνδοξ(ος) οἶκ(ος) Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν).

9. τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων: the same title is known to have existed at Antinoë from an inscription dedicated to Severus Alexander in A. D. 232–3 (C. I. G. 4705) πρυτανεύοντος Αὐρηλίου Ὠριγέν[ους το]ῦ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου βουλευτοῦ γυμν[ασιάρχου καὶ] ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων. στέμμα here has apparently the sense of *ordo* or *familia*, for which cf. C. I. G. 3995 b, 9897.

LXXXVIII. Receipt for Rent.

Harit. 22·4 x 10·2 *cm.* Third century A.D.

Receipt issued to a cultivator by the nomarch acknowledging payment of the year's rent for a plot of land which had belonged to the Queen of Ptolemy Neos Dionysus, and was now apparently part of the common property of the city of Arsinoë. That land was owned by cities and villages is shown both by the preceding papyrus and by Pap. Gen. I. 16, B. G. U. 659. II. (Socnopaei Nesus), C. P. R. 39 (Hermopolis), 41 (Obthis in the Hermopolite nome); and it is probable that such communal land is generally meant by the phrase δημοσία γῆ. A parallel for the survival of the distinguishing title of land which had in Ptolemaic times been included in the royal domains is found in B. G. U. 512, where the Φιλαδέλφου οὐσία is coupled with the γῆ βασιλική and γῆ προσόδου. In that instance, too, the land had not improbably been the property of a queen, Arsinoë Philadelphus, from whom it had passed to the temples; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. 150[2].

Ἀπίων νομάρχης διὰ Ἥρωνος
Ἡ[ρ]ακλέῳ γεωργῷ καὶ μετόχ(οις) χαίρειν.
ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ τὸ ἐκφόριον
οὗ γεωργεῖς κλήρου περὶ κώμην
Θεαδελφείαν οἴκου πόλεως βα-
σιλίσσης Πτολεμαίου Νέου Διο-
νύσου ὑπ[ὲ]ρ γενήματος δω-

δεκάτου ἔτους πλήρης.
(ἔτους) ιβ, Ἐπε[ί]φ κβ.

On the *verso*

ἀποχὴ Ἡρ̣α̣κ̣λέ[ο(υ)] κ̣α̣ὶ̣ μ̣ε̣τ̣ό̣χ̣ω̣(ν).

2. και μετοχ inserted above the line.

'Apion, nomarch, through Heron, to Heracleus, cultivator, and his partners, greeting. I have received from you the rent of the plot cultivated by you near the village of Theadelphia belonging to the corporation of the city and formerly to the Queen of Ptolemy Neos Dionysus, on account of the produce of the twelfth year, in full. The twelfth year, Epeiph 22.'

2. γεωργῷ: Heracleus is not called a δημόσιος γεωργός, but that no doubt was his correct title; cf. xviii (*a*). 1.

5. οἴκου πόλεως: for οἶκος in this sense cf. lxxxvii. 5, note. πόλις in the Fayûm more naturally refers to Arsinoë than to Alexandria, and that Arsinoë is meant may be concluded from the fact that the receipt is issued by the nomarch.

LXXXIX. Loan of Seed.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 26·8 × 9·5 *cm*. A.D. 9.

Acknowledgement of a loan of vegetable-seed and barley for a period of four months. No interest was required for the loan, as was sometimes the case with loans in kind (cf. xc and Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 679); but in case the borrower failed to return it at the specified date, he was pledged to pay ten times the amount of vegetable-seed, and no doubt the barley at a similarly high rate, though the exact proportion is lost. For the severity of the penalty cf. xi. 31.

The papyrus is dated at the top in the 38th year of the κράτησις of Augustus, and below this after a large blank space follows the contract headed by another date, 'the 38th year of Caesar' simply, which also occurs in lines 14, 15. This double method of dating by the κράτησις and by the ordinary regnal year is found in B. G. U. 174; and the identity of the numbers of the years of the κράτησις and of the reign proves that both were reckoned from the same point of time. The method of dating by the κράτησις of Augustus, of which this papyrus offers the fifth instance, originated, as is shown by Wilcken (cf. *Ost.* I. pp. 787, 788), in a decree of the senate establishing an era in Egypt reckoned from the date of the capture of Alexandria; cf. Dio li. 19. 6. The innovation had little success, and except on coins of the opening year of Tiberius' reign no traces of the era have been found later than Augustus' death.

The contract has been cancelled in the usual manner by cross-strokes of the pen, implying that the loan had been repaid.

Ἔτους ὀγδόου καὶ τριακοστοῦ τῆς
Καίσαρος κρατήσεως θεοῦ υἱοῦ,
μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου ἕκτῃ Φαμε-
νὼθ ἕκτῃ, ἐν Πηλουσίῳ τῆς Θε-
μίστου μερίδος τοῦ νομοῦ.
ἔτους λη Καίσαρος, Φαμενὼ(θ) ς, ἀναγέ(γραπται)
ἐν Πη(λουσίου) γρ(αφείῳ) . . ρε( ).
Πεθεὺς Πάτρωνος Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς
ὁμολόγωι ἔχειν παρὰ Ἀκουσιλάου τοῦ
Θέωνος παραχρῆμα [. . .] . ης λαχανω-
σπέρμου νέου καθαρ[οῦ] ἀδόλου ἀρταβῶν
δύο ἡμίσους καὶ κριθῆς ἀρταβῶν ἓξ
ἡμίσους, πάντα δὲ ἀποδώσω ἐν μηνὶ
Παῦνι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ὀγδόου καὶ τριακοσ-
τοῦ ἔτους Καίσαρος ἐν Πηλουσίῳ μέτρωι
τετάρτωι. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ [ἀποδ]ῶ ἐκτίσω
τοῦ μὲν λαχανωσπέρμου ἑκάστης ἀρταβῶν
ἀρτάβας {αρταβας} δέκα τῆς δὲ κριθῆς ἀρ-
[τάβας . . . . . .

16. ε of εκτισω corr. from ι.

'The 38th year of the dominion of Caesar, son of the god, the sixth of the month Artemisius which is the sixth of Phamenoth, at Pelusium in the division of Themistes of the (Arsinoite) nome.

The 38th year of Caesar, Phamenoth 6, registered in the record office of Pelusium. I, Petheus, son of Patron, a Persian of the Epigone, acknowledge the direct receipt from Acusilaus, son of Theon, of two and a half artabae of vegetable-seed, new, pure, and unadulterated, and of six and a half artabae of barley, and I will repay the whole in the month of Pauni of the present 38th year of Caesar at Pelusium, measured with the quarter measure. And if I do not repay I will forfeit for each artaba of vegetable-seed ten artabae and for the barley . . .'

5. Ἀρσινοίτου is to be supplied before νομοῦ, the omission being probably a mere inadvertence and caused by the homoioteleuton of του.

7. It would be just possible to read the letters after γρ(αφείῳ) as αφε and to suppose that the scribe after making the mark of abbreviation following γρ proceeded to add the three next letters of γραφείῳ. But this is not very satisfactory, apart from the fact that φ is palaeographically not probable.

10. [. . .] . ης: a substantive like χρῆσει or δάνειον is expected; either this word or ἀρταβῶν κ.τ.λ. should have been in the accusative.

16. τετάρτωι: sc. of an artaba; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 750. In xc. 14 the measure to be used is described as μέτρῳ ἐνδεκαμέτρῳ which is difficult to account for. This might be equivalent to μέτρον ἐνδέκατον, an eleventh part measure; or it might mean a measure containing eleven μέτρα. But an eleventh part of an artaba would be a very surprising fraction; and an artaba only contained ten μέτρα. It is not easy to say which alternative is the least objectionable.

XC. Loan of Seed.

Harit. 21·1 × 9·7 *cm.* A.D. 234.

Acknowledgement of a loan of vegetable-seed, to be repaid in the following month. In this case also, as in the preceding papyrus, no interest was required; but the lender was to have the choice of accepting either the seed or its value in money, estimated according to the highest current price.

Ἔτους τρισκαιδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου
Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς Γερμανικ⟨εί⟩ου Παχὼν θ,
ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι Εὐεργέτιδι τοῦ Ἀρσι(νοΐτου) νομοῦ. ὁ-
μολογεῖ Αὐρήλιος Πωλίων Παιμέως μη(τρὸς)
Ταβοῦτος ἀπὸ κώ(μης) Σοκνοπ(αίου) Νήσου ὡς
ἐτῶν λ οὐλ(ὴ) γαστροκνη(μίῳ) ποδὸς δεξιοῦ Αὐρηλ(ίῳ)
Ἀγ[α]θείνῳ Ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπὸ ἀμφόδο(υ)
Λινυφείων ἔχιν παρ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Αὐρή(λιος) Πωλία(ν)
χ[ρῆ]σιν ἐγ γένι λαχανοσπέρμου ἀρτάβας
τρ[ί]ς, καὶ ἐπάναγκον ἀποδώσιν αὐτὸν τῷ
Αὐ[ρη(λίῳ)] Ἀγαθείνῳ ἐν μη(νὶ) Παῦνι τοῦ ἐνεσ(τῶτος) ιγ (ἔτους)
ἐν ἐποικίῳ Πισαεὶ μέτρῳ ἐνδεκαμέτρῳ
ἀνυπερθέτως, ἐγλογῆς οὔσης τῷ Αὐρηλ(ίῳ)
Ἀγ[α]θείνῳ ἤτοι τὸ λ[α]χανόσπ(ερμον) λαμβάνιν
εὐάρεστον ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ ἐσο(μένην) πλ[ί]στην
τει(μήν), γεινο(μένης) αὐτῷ τῆς πράξεως ἔκ τε τοῦ
ὁμ[ολ(ογοῦντος)] καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντω(ν)
κα[θ]άπ(ερ) ἐγ δίκης, μένοντος τῷ Ἀγαθείνῳ

τ[οῦ λ]όγου περὶ ὧ(ν) ἄλλω(ν) ὀφείλι αὐ[τ]ῷ ὁ Πω-
λίων καθ' ἃ ἔχι γράμματα· [καὶ ἐ]περω(τηθεὶς) ὡμολ(όγησεν).

On the *verso*

. . . . ̣νοπ( ) | σάκκου | λαχανοσπ(έρμου).

5. πτολεμαΐδι Pap. 6. ποῖμεως Pap.

'The 13th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, the ninth of the month Germaniceus or Pachon, at Ptolemais Euergetis in the Arsinoite nome. Aurelius Polion, son of Paimeus and Tabous, of the village of Socnopaei Nesus, aged about 30 years, with a scar on the thigh of his right leg, acknowledges to Aurelius Agathinus, son of Agathus, son of Alexander, of the Linen-factories' quarter, that he, Aurelius Polion, has received from him a loan in kind of three artabae of vegetable-seed, and that he is under the obligation of repaying them to Aurelius Agathinus in the month Pauni of the present 13th year at the farmstead of Pisaï without delay, measured by the eleventh part measure, Aurelius Agathinus being allowed the choice of receiving either the vegetable-seed in good condition or the highest current price at the time being, and having the right of execution upon the borrower and all his property as if in accordance with a legal decision. Agathinus also retains his claim to the other debts owed to him, according to contracts in his possession, by Polion; and he (Polion) in answer to the formal question gave his consent.'

4. Γερμανικ⟨εί⟩ου Παχών: Γερμανικοῦ here must be a slip for Γερμανικείου, which is known from numerous instances to have been the same as Pachon, while the month Γερμανικός corresponded to Thoth according to the statement of Suetonius (*Domit.* 13), which is confirmed by Ox. Pap. II. 266. 2 (note *ad loc.*).

10. Λινυφείων: an ἄμφοδον at Arsinoë.

14. The ἐποίκιον Πισαεί was near the village of Heraclea (B. G. U. 446. 6).

μέτρῳ ἐνδεκαμέτρῳ: cf. note on lxxxix. 16.

17. τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ κ.τ.λ.: so also a similar loan of A. D. 238 in *Mittheil. Pap. Rainer*, II. 31, where however the lender has no ἐκλογή.

XCI. Contract for Labour in an Oil-Press.

Kaṣr el Banât. 24·1 × 10 *cm.* A. D. 99.

This document relates to the affairs of Lucius Bellenus Gemellus, for an account of whom see introd. to cx. It is a contract for the engagement of a woman named Thenetkoueis to serve for the season in an oil-press belonging to Gemellus at a daily wage, the exact amount of which is not stated, but of which she receives an advance of 16 drachmae.

Φαῶ(φι) ιη, ὁμολ(ογία) Θενετκουεῖς πρὸ(ς) Λούκιο(ν).
Ἔτους τρίτου [Α]ὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νερούα

Τραιανοῦ Σε[β]αστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Φαῶφι ὀκτωκαι[δ]εκάτηι, ἐ[ν Εὐ]ημερείᾳ τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρ[σινο]είτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ Θενετκουεῖς Ἥρ[ω]νος παρεμβάλλουσα Περσείνη ὡς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι ἓξ οὐλὴ ἀντικνημίῳ δεξιῶι, μετὰ κυρίου το[ῦ] συνγενοῦς Λεοντᾶ τοῦ Ἱππάλου, ὡς ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα τεσσάρων οὐλὴ μετόπωι ἐγ δεξιῶν, Λουκίωι Βελλήνῳ Γεμέλλωι ἀπολυσ[ί]μωι ἀπὸ στρατείας εγλεωνο( ) ὡς ἐτῶν ἑξήκον[τα] ἑπτὰ οὐλὴ ἀντίχιρει ἀριστ(ερᾷ), ἔχειν παρ αὐτ[οῦ] π̣[αραχρῆμα διὰ] χ[ι]ρ[ὸς ἐ]ξ οἴκ(ου) ἀργυρίου δραχ[μὰς] δέκα ἓξ ἀρραβονα ἀναπόριφον· ἐπάνα[γ]κον οὖν παρεμβαλεῖν τὴν Θενετκουεῖν ἐν [τ]ῶι ὑ[πά]ρχοντι τῷ Λουκίωι Βελλήνωι Γεμέλ[λ]ῳ [ἐν] Εὐημερείᾳ ἐλαιουργίωι ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας [ἐ]ὰν [α]ὐτῆι παρανγε[ίλῃ ἐ]λαικοὺς καρποὺς ἐκπεπ{π}τωκότας εἰς τὸ ἐνεστῶ(ς) τρίτον ἔτος, ποιοῦσαν πάντα ὅσα καθήκει παρεμβαλλού[σ]ῃ μέχρει ἐγβάσεως πάσης ἐλαιουργίας, λαμβάνουσα(ν) παρὰ τοῦ Λουκίου Βελλήνου τὸν ἡμερήσιον μισθὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων παρεμβαλλουσῶν ἐν τῇ κώμηι, ὑπολογήσιν δὲ τὸν Λουκίον τὰς τοῦ ἀργ[υ]ρίου δραχμὰς δέκα ἓξ κατὰ μέρος ἐκ τῶν ἐσομένων μισθῶν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιῇ ἡ Θενετκουεῖς κατὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα ἀποδώσιν αὐτῆ(ν) τῷ Λουκίωι τὸν ἀρραβονα διπλοῦν, γεινομένης τῷ Λουκίωι Βελλήνωι τῆς πράξεως ἔκ τε τῆς ὁμολ(ογούσης) καὶ ἐκ τῶ(ν) ὑπαρχ(όντων) αὐτῇ πάντω(ν) καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης. ὑπογραφεὺς τῆς Θενετκουεῖτο(ς) Λεοντᾶς ὁ προγεγραμμένος.

2nd hand Θενετκουῖς Ἡρων[ο]ς Περσίνη μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ συνγε[νοῦ]ς Λεοντᾶ τοῦ Ἱππάλου ὁμολογῶι ἔχειν παρὰ τοῦ Λουκίου τὰς

τοῦ ἀρ(ρ)αβῶνος ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δέκα
ἕξ, καὶ παρεμβαλ[ῶ]ι ἐν τῷ ἐλαιουργίῳ
ἀφ' ἐας ἡμέρας [ἐάν] μοι παρανγίλῃς
λαμβάνουσα παρὰ σοῦ Λουκίου τοὺς μισθοὺς
ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων παρανβαλλουσῶν καὶ ἕ-
καστα ποιήσω καθὼς πρόκιται. Λεοντᾶς
γέγραφα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς [Θ]ενετκουῖτος
μὴ ἰδότος γράμματα.
1st hand *ἐντέτακτ[αι γ] (ἔτους), Φαῶφι ιη, διὰ Ἥρωνος*
τοῦ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ Εὐημερείας.
3rd hand *Λούκιος Βελλῆνος Γέμελλος δι(ὰ)*
Ἐπαγαθοῦ ἀπέχω τὰς προκιμέ(νας)
καὶ οὐθὲν ἐνκαλῶι

In the left-hand margin, at right angles

ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δέκα ἕξ. (ἔτους) πέμ(π)του Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα-
ρος Νερούα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστου Γερμανικοῦ, Τῦβ(ι) ιβ.

On the *verso* two short nearly effaced lines.

1. l. Θενετκουεῖτος. 8. *συ* of *συνγενους* corr. 14. l. ἀρραβῶνα; so in 30. 32. *η* of *της* rewritten. 40. l. ᾗς. 42. l. παρεμβαλλουσῶν. 45. l. εἰδυίας.

'Phaophi 18, agreement of Thenetkoueis with Lucius. The third year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus, Phaophi 18, at Euhemeria in the division of Themistes of the Arsinoite nome. Thenetkoueis, daughter of Heron, olive-carrier, a Persian, aged about 26 years, having a scar on the right shin, acting with her guardian her kinsman Leontas, son of Hippalus, aged about 54 years, having a scar on the forehead to the right, acknowledges to Lucius Bellenus Gemellus, discharged from military service with the legion(?), aged about 67 years, having a scar on the left wrist, that she has received from him directly from hand to hand from his house 16 drachmae of silver as unexceptionable earnest money. Thenetkoueis is accordingly obliged to carry at the olive-press belonging to Lucius Bellenus Gemellus at Euhemeria from whatever day he orders her the olive produce included in the present third year, performing all that a carrier should until the completion of the entire oil-manufacture, and receiving from Lucius Bellenus her daily wage at the same rate as the carriers in the village; and Lucius shall reckon off the 16 drachmae of silver by instalments from her wages. If Thenetkoueis does not act in accordance with the conditions above written she shall pay back to Lucius double the earnest money, and he shall have the right of execution upon her and upon all her property as if in accordance with a legal decision. Attestor on behalf of Thenetkoueis, Leontas the aforesaid.' There follow the signature of Thenetkoueis written by her guardian Leontas, the docket of the record office at Euhemeria, and the signature of Epagathus on behalf of Gemellus acknowledging that he had received back the 16 drachmae.

6. παρεμβαλλουσα: *παρεμβάλλειν* is clearly a technical term for some process in

the manufacture of oil commonly performed by women (cf. 24 παρεμβαλλουσῶν). The meaning seems to be to put the olives into the press, to feed the press with olives.

11. εγλεωνο( ) looks like a mistake for λεγεῶνο(ς) or ἐγ λεγεῶνο(ς). For ἀπολύσιμος ἐκ cf. B. G. U. 326. II. 15 ἀπολυθεὶς . . . ἐκ κλάσσης.

47. There are traces of ink after Εὐημερείας, but these may be accidental; it is difficult to see what could have been added here, but cf. lxxxix. 7.

48 sqq. This signature acknowledging the repayment of the 16 drachmae advanced to Thenetkoueis cannot mean that she failed to fulfil her agreement, for in that case she would have had to pay 32 drachmae (l. 30). The implication rather is that her part was duly performed, and these 16 drachmae were deducted from her wages. Why this acknowledgement that she had discharged all obligations should have been delayed until two years after the date of the contract we cannot tell.

XCII. Sale of a Donkey.

Harit. 19·3 × 7·2 *cm.* A.D. 126.

Agreement for the sale of a young female donkey at the price of 56 drachmae. This is rather a low figure; cf. the statistics as to prices of donkeys and camels collected in the introd. to lxvii–lxxvi.

Ἔτους ἐνδε[κ]άτου Αὐ[τοκρ]άτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἁ[δρ]ιαν[οῦ] Σεβ[α]στ[οῦ], μηνὸς Σεβασ[τοῦ] Θὼθ ιϛ, ἐν Θεαδελφείᾳ τῆς Θεμίστ[ο]υ μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ Μυσταρίων Ἥρωνος ὡς ἐτῶν τεσσαράκο[ν]τα οὐλὴ δακτύλωι μικ(ρῷ) χειρὸς ἀριστερᾶς Σαταβοῦτι Πεκύσιος ὡς ἐτῶ(ν) τριάκοντα οὐλὴ δακτύλωι μικρῶι χειρὸς ἀ[ρ]ιστερᾶς πεπρακένα[ι αὐτῶ]ι ὄνον θήλιαν πρωτοβόλον μυ[όχρουν τα]ύτην τοιαύτην ἀναπόριφο[ν κ]αὶ ἀπέχειν τὸν Μυσταρίωνα παρὰ τοῦ Σαταβοῦτ(ος) τὴν συνπεφωνημένην πρὸς ἀλλήλους τειμὴν ἀργυρί[ο]υ δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα ἕξ

παραχρῆμα διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκ[ου
καὶ βεβαιώσιν πά[σ]ῃ βεβαιώσι.
2nd hand *Μυσθαρίων Ἥρωνος ὁμο-*
λογῶ πεπρακέναι τ[ῷ
Σαταβοῦτι [ὄ]ν[ο]ν θ[ή]λειαν
πρωτο[βόλον] ταύτην τοιαύ-
[την] ἀν[από]ριφον [καὶ ἀπέ-
χ[ιν] τὴν τιμὴν ἀργυρίου
δραχ[μ]ὰς πεντήκοντα ἕξ,
καὶ βεβα[ι]ώσω καθὼς
πρόκειται. ἔγ[ρ]αψεν ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρακλείδ(ου)
[μὴ] εἰδ[ό]τος γράμματα.
1st hand (?) *ἐντέτακ(ται) δι(ὰ) το(ῦ) ἐν Θ(εαδελφείᾳ) γρ(αφείου).*

On the *verso*

πρᾶσ(ις) Μυστ(αρίωνος)
πρὸ(ς) Σαταβοῦν
ὄν[ου α.

2. τραΐανου Pap.

'The 11th year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, the 16th of the month Sebastus or Thoth, at Theadelphia in the division of Themistes of the Arsinoite nome. Mystharion, son of Heron, aged about 40 years, having a scar on the little finger of the left hand, agrees that he has sold to Satabous, son of Pekusis, aged about 30 years, having a scar on the little finger of the left hand, a female mouse-coloured donkey, shedding its first teeth, just as it is irrevocably, and that Mystharion has received from Satabous the price agreed upon between them, 56 drachmae of silver, directly from hand to hand out of his house, and that he will guarantee the sale with every guarantee.' Signature of Mystharion written for him by Heraclides, and docket of the record office at Theadelphia.

6. Μυσταρίων: more correctly spelled in the signature Μυσθαρίων. Cf. xxxiii. 11 Μύστης.

23. Or perhaps πρωτο[β(όλον) μυόχ(ρουν)].

XCIII. Lease of Business in Perfumery.

Harit. 22·9 × 8·8 *cm.* A.D. 161.

A proposal for the lease of a share in a perfumery business. The lessor was himself the holder of a half share of this business in the division of

Themistes, and he now agreed, according to his signature at the foot of the document, to accept 45 drachmae for a quarter part of his share, markets and festivals being, however, excluded from the contract. It is not clear from the terms of this lease whether the perfume trade was a monopoly, granted by the government to certain individuals, which was now being sublet, or not. The lessor may be supposed merely to be parting with a share of a private business, just as a part-interest in a profession or trade can be bought or sold to-day. But the similarity of this contract to xxxvi, and—what is more important—the fact that the lessor apparently owned half the business in perfumes of the whole division of Themistes, gives much probability to the view that the perfume trade, like those of the brickmaker and fuller, was the subject of a monopoly. Cf. introd. to xxxvi.

Κάστορι Ἀντιφίλου Σωσικοσμίῳ τῷ
καὶ Ἀλθαιεῖ
παρὰ Σαραπίωνος Ἀρτεμιδώρου
τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου
Χηνοβοσκίων Ἑτέρων. βούλομαι
μισθώσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ τὴν μυρο-
πωλαικὴν καὶ ἀρωματικὴν ἐργασίαν
θ(έ)λων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντός σοι
[ἡμί]σους μέρους τέταρτον μέρος
Θεμίστου μερίδος (2nd hand) *χωρὶς ἀγο-*
ρῶν σὺν πανηγύρεσιν
πρὸς μόνον τὸ ἐνεστὸς
β (ἔτος) φόρου τοῦ παντὸς ἀρ-
γ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) τεσσεράκοντα πέν-
τε, ὧν καὶ τὴν διαγρα-
φὴν ποιήσ[ο]μαι κατὰ
μῆνα τὸ αἱροῦν ἐξ ἴσου
ἐὰν φαίνηται μισθῶ-
σαι. (3rd hand) *Κάστωρ Ἀντιφίλου μεμί-*
σθωκα κατὼς πρόκιται.
ἔτους [[β]] Ἀντωνίνου καὶ (Οὐ)ήρου
τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν,
Θὼθ ε.

6. l. μυροπωλικήν. 7. l. ἀρωματικήν. 8. απο inserted above line. 20. l. καθώς.

'To Castor, son of Antiphilus, of the Sosicosmian or Althean deme, from Sarapion, son of Artemidorus, son of Ptolemaeus, of the Second Goosefarm quarter. I wish to lease from you your business of perfume-selling and unguent-making, being desirous of the fourth part of the half-share falling to you in the division of Themistes, with the exception of markets and festivals, for the present second year only, at a total rent of 45 drachmae of silver, which I will pay monthly in equal instalments if you consent to the lease. (Signed) I, Castor, son of Antiphilus, have made the lease as is above written. The (second) year of Antoninus and Verus the lords Augusti, Thoth 5.'

16–17. κατὰ μῆνα τὸ αἱροῦν: so too in the similar contract Brit. Mus. Pap. 286. 18–19, where we prefer the editor's κατὰ μ[ῆνα] τό to Wilcken's κατὰ μ[έρο]ς (*Archiv*, I. p. 157).

XCIV. Termination of Guardianship.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 20·4 × 12·4 *cm.* A.D. 222–235.

This papyrus, the mutilation of which is very unfortunate, is a formal release given by an orphan girl to her late guardian, acknowledging that she had no further claims upon him, and that she was in possession of all her property. The document is signed by the ward and by both the guardian and his mother, who make a declaration that they had acted in good faith. Guardians for children under age could be appointed by will (cf. e.g. B. G. U. 86. 18); in cases of intestacy the duty of making the appointment devolved upon the praefect, as is shown by a papyrus found last winter at Tebtunis. A documentary release was probably the usual accompaniment of a severance of the relations between guardian and ward; but the present papyrus is, so far as we are aware, the first actual example.

Ἔτους Μά]ρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦ[ς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
] θ, ἐν Πτολεμαίδι Εὐερ[γέτι]δι τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτο[υ νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ
μητρὸς] Λουσίας ἀπὸ κώμης Θεογον[ί]δος μετὰ κυ[ρίου τοῦ
ἀν]δρὸς Αὐρηλίου Ἑρμία Ἡρακλέου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ[τῆς κώμης
τῷ γε]νομένῳ τῆς ὀρφανείας αὐτῆς ἐπιτρόπῳ ἀπολ[
Αὐρηλίῳ Σαραπάμμωνι] Πωλίωνος μητρὸς Τυραννίδος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆ[ς κώμης
ὡς ἐτῶν . . οὐλὴ με]τώπῳ μὴ ἐνκαλῖν μηδὲ ἐνκαλέσιν μηδὲ ἐπελεύσασθ[αι αὐτὴν

μηδὲ ἄλλον] ἐπὶ τὸν Αὐρήλιον Σαραπάμμωνα περὶ μηδενὸς τῶ[ν τῇ
ἐπιτροπείᾳ] ἀνηκόντων καὶ συμπεπῖσθαι αὐτὴν [.]α̣ . . οις [
]σ̣θεῖσι καὶ τοῖς καταχωρισθεῖσι ἐν μηνιαίοις λ[όγο]ι̣[ς
] μηδὲ ὀφι[λή]ματος μηδὲ παντὸς τῷ καθόλ[ου
ἐ]πὶ δικαίου [γράμ]ματος ἢ [ἑ]τ̣έρου τινὸς συμβό[λου
μ]έχρι τῆς [ἐνεστ]ώσης ἡμέρας τρόπῳ μη[δενὶ καὶ
ἀπεσχηκέναι αὐ]τὴν [τὰ ὑπάρχον]τα αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶ[ν
]τ̣α α . [. . . . . 2nd hand? Αὐρ]ηλία Τυρ[αννὶς καὶ Αὐρήλιος Σαραπάμμων
]ς ὡμολόγ[ησ]αν ἀπὸ τῶν [
μέχρι τῆς] ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας τρόπῳ μηδεν[ὶ
ἀπεσχηκέν]α̣ι̣ αὐτὴν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶ[ν
] α̣ὐτῶν σύμβολα ἀμφότεροι δὲ η . [
Αὐρήλ]ιος Σαραπάμμων πίστειν [δέδωκα καὶ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ τῆς
μητρὸς] Α̣ὐ̣[ρ]ήλιος Σαραπάμμων πίστειν δ̣έ̣δ̣[ωκα ὡς πρόκειται.
3rd hand ἀπὸ κ]ώμης Θεογο(νίδος) μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδο(μένου) τοῦ [
ὁμολ]ογῶ μηδὲν μὴ ἐνκαλ(εῖν) τῷ ἐπ(ιτρόπῳ) Αὐρηλί[ῳ Σαραπάμμωνι περὶ
τῶν τῇ ἐπιτροπείᾳ] ἀνηκόντων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνδεῦθ(εν) αὐτῶν [
ἀπέχει]ν τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι ὡς πρόκειται [

24. l. ἐντεῦθεν.

1. It is probable that Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος as usual preceded Μά[ρκου, and that the lacunae at the beginnings of the lines amount to at least twenty-eight letters; if the numeral after ἔτους was written out the number of letters lost would be still larger.

5. ἀπολ[υθέντι or ἀπολ[υσίμῳ ?.

9. Apparently *not* [κ]αὶ τοῖς.

12. The reference appears to be to documents and receipts written during the period of guardianship; cf. 19.

XCV. Lease of an Oil-Press.

Harit. 13 × 8·7 *cm.* Second century.

Proposal addressed to Achilleus, through his guardian Sarapion, by Apollonius for the lease of an oil-press at Dionysias for four years at the

rent of one metretes six choes of both olive and raphanus oil with various extra payments. This papyrus, together with xci and xcvi, shows clearly that in the Roman period ἐλαιουργεῖα were owned by private persons. The government monopoly of oil-manufacture, which existed in the Ptolemaic period, seems to have disappeared, though ἐλαιουργεῖα belonging to the government occur, e.g. in Brit. Mus. Pap. 280; cf. introd. to xxxvi.

It is remarkable that while in the Ptolemaic period sesame and castor oil are the two most important varieties and olive and raphanus oil are not even mentioned in the Revenue Papyrus, in the Roman period the papyri quite support the statement of Pliny (*N. H.* xix. 5) about the extensive use of raphanus oil in Egypt, and the evidence of Strabo, who states (xvii. 35) that the Arsinoite nome ἐλαιόφυτος . . . μόνος ἐστὶ μεγάλοις καὶ τελείοις δένδρεσι καὶ καλλικάρποις. Sesame and castor oil occur but rarely in Fayûm papyri of the Roman period, but in many cases where ἔλαιον simply is mentioned it is quite uncertain whether olive or sesame oil (which ἔλαιον simply in the Ptolemaic period usually meant) is intended. In the present papyrus, however, as in xcvi, the phrase ἐλάινον ἔλαιον leaves no doubt that olive oil is meant.

The lacunae in the text have been largely supplied from a papyrus with a very similar formula in Lord Amherst's collection.

[Ἀ]χιλλῖ τῷ καὶ Σαραπάμ[μωνι διὰ Σαρα-
πίωνος φροντιστοῦ [
παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀπολ[λωνίου τοῦ Σω-
τηρίχου ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου [λεγομένου Χηνο-
βοσκίων. βούλομαι μ[ισθώσασθαι πα-
ρὰ (σοῦ) ἐφ' ἔτη δ ἀπὸ τριακ[άδος τοῦ ἐνεστῶ(τος)
μηνὸς Μεσορὴ ἀπὸ τῶ[ν ὑπαρχόντων
σοι ἐν κώμῃ Διονυσιάδ[ι ἐλαιουργίων ἐ-
π' ἀμφόδου Ἁρποχρατείω[νος ἐλαιουργῖον
ἐπεξηρτισμένον ἄξω[νι ἐν ᾧ
μηχαναὶ δύο καὶ χαλκίον . [σὺν
τοῖς οὖσι ὑπερωσι τόπο[ις πᾶσι, τελέσω δὲ
κα[θ]' ἔτος σύνπαντι λόγῳ [ἐλαίνου ὑλιστοῦ
μετρητὴν ἕνα χοεῖς ἓξ κ[αὶ ῥαφανίνου
ὁμ[ο]ίως μετρητὴν ἕνα [χοεῖς ἕξ, πα-
ρέχων καθ' ἔτος ἀμεσ[τεσίοις ἐλαίου
ῥ[α]φανίνου κοτύλαι ἓξ καὶ [

χο[ῶ]ν δώδεκα καὶ κ[
ἐλαίνου κοτύλαι ἓξ [κ]αὶ δ[χοῶν
δώδεκα, τ[ὸ]ν δὲ πρ[ο]κίμε[νον φόρον ἀπο-
δώσω ἐν μηνὶ Φ[α]μενὼ[θ ἐ-
λαίνου ὑλιστοῦ μετρητὴ[ν ἕνα χοεῖς ἕξ, ἐν δὲ
μηνὶ Παῦνι ὁμοίως μετ[ρητὴν ἕνα
χοῖς ἕξ, ἅπαντα μέτρῳ θ[
σὺν [ἀ]ποχύματι ἑκάστῳ α[
ος κ[ο]τυλῶν δύο λημψ[

. . . .

12. l. ὑπερῴοις. 14. l. χοάς, so in 15, 18, 19, 22, 24. 17. l. κοτύλας. 21. ελαῖνου Pap. 24. χοῖς Pap.

'To Achilles, also called Sarapammon, through his guardian Sarapion, from Apollonius, son of Apollonius, son of Soterichus, from the Goose-farm quarter. I wish to lease from you for four years from the thirtieth of the present month Mesore, of the oil-presses owned by you at the village of Dionysias one oil-press in the Harpocration quarter, fitted with a wheel . . . and containing two machines and a caldron . . . with all the appertaining upper rooms, and I will pay each year in all one metretes six choes of strained olive oil, and likewise one metretes six choes of raphanus oil, providing every year at the harvest six cotylae of raphanus oil and . . . twelve choes, and . . . six cotylae of olive oil and . . . twelve choes, and I will deliver for the aforesaid rent in the month of Phamenoth one metretes six choes of strained olive oil, and in the month of Pauni likewise one metretes six choes (of raphanus oil?), all measured by the measure . . .'

16. ἀμεσ[τεσίοις: in the Amherst papyrus, where the rent is 7 κεράμια of raphanus oil, a chous is to be paid at the ἀμεστεσίοις.

24. Probably θ[ησαυρικῷ or θ[εοῦ.

XCVI. Receipt for Rent of an Oil-Press.

Harīt. 20·2 x 9·5 *cm.* A.D. 122.

A notice issued through the bank of Sarapion, probably at Arsinoë, by Syrus to Nemesas, stating that he had paid Nemesas 5 metretae of oil, being the year's rent of an oil-press belonging to Pompeius Ptolemaeus, a gymnasiarch, of whose property Nemesas was acting as guardian. Cf. introd. to xcv. It is remarkable that the payment, though in kind, is made through a bank, a proceeding for which we have not been able to find a parallel. On the nature of these διαγραφαί and the inversion of the formula found in ordinary receipts see Mitteis, *Trapezitica*, pp. 30 sqq., Gradenwitz, *Einführung in die*

Papyruskunde, p. 139. The present document is not a complete receipt since the signature of the receiver of the money is wanting.

Ἔτους ἑβδόμου Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἁδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου
Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς, Ἀθὺρ κθ, διὰ τῆς Σαρα-
πίωνος τραπέζης Πτερουιτ . . [. .]κου.
Σύρος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
ἐλαιοῦργ[ος] Νεμεσᾶτι Ἡλι[οδ]ώρου τοῦ
Εὐδαίμονος ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου [. .]κων ὡς
ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἀσή[μῳ] ἀπέχειν
τὸν Νεμεσᾶτα παρὰ τοῦ Σύρ[ο]υ φόρον
τοῦ διεληλυθότος ἕκτου ἔτους Ἀντωνείνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου οὗ ἔχει ὁ Σύρος
ἐν μισθώσει ἐλαιουργίου τοῦ ὑπάρχον-
τος τῷ φροντιζομένῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
Πομπηίου Πτολεμαίου ἐνάρχου γυμνα-
σιάρχου ἐλαίου μετρητὰς πέντε,
ὡς ἐλαίνου μὲν μετρητὰς δύο ἥμισυ
καὶ ῥαφανίνου τοὺς λοιποὺς μετρητὰς
δύο ἥμισυ, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἐνκαλεῖν
περὶ τούτων, μενούσης κυρίας τῆς
μισθώσεως ἐφ' οἷς περιέχει πᾶσει.

10. τ of τ*ου* corr.

'The seventh year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Athur 29, through the bank of Sarapion in the quarter of . . . Syrus, son of Alexander, son of Alexander, oil-maker, informs Nemesas, son of Heliodorus, son of Eudaemon, from the quarter of . . ., about forty years old, with no distinguishing mark, that Nemesas has received from Syrus the rent of the past sixth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord for the oil-press leased by Syrus and owned by Pompeius Ptolemaeus, gymnasiarch in office, of whom Nemesas is guardian, namely five metretae of oil, consisting of two and a half metretae of olive oil, and the remaining two and a half metretae of raphanus oil, and that Nemesas has no claim against him on this matter, the lease in all its provisions remaining valid.'

4. It is not clear whether the bank of Sarapion was at Arsinoë or in a village. At the end of the line Πτερουΐτος [οἴ]κου might be read. The name of an ἄμφοδον would be expected, but none of this name is known.

7. Perhaps [Λύ]κων: but this ἄμφοδον is not known in the Fayûm though ἄμφοδα Λυκείων and Λύκου occur at Arsinoë.

13. φροντιζομένῳ: since Pompeius Ptolemaeus was a gymnasiarch, the fact that Nemesas was acting as his *curator* is more probably to be explained by the absence of Pompeius (cf. B. G. U. 447. 21 ὄν[τι ἐν ἑτέρ]ῳ τόπ(ῳ), φροντιζομ(ένῳ) ὑπ' ἐμοῦ) than by his being under age.

16. ἐλαίνου: cf. introd. to xcv.

XCVII. Receipt for a Share of an Inheritance.

Kaṣr el Banât. 27 × 7·8 *cm.* A.D. 78.

Receipt for 20 drachmae paid to Maron as his share of an inheritance from his deceased father, by his younger brother Onnophris. The acknowledgements of the two brothers are written for them by their ὑπογραφεῖς, though the elder also adds his own signature in rude uncials. The papyrus is in a bad state of preservation and the writing extremely cursive, especially the signatures at the end.

Ἔτους ἑνδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς
Νέου Σεβαστοῦ ζ, ἐ[ν] Εὐημερείᾳ τῆς Θε[μίσ-
του μερίδος τοῦ Ἀ[ρ]σινο[είτο]υ νομ[ο]ῦ.
ὁμολογεῖ Μάρων πρεσβύτερος
Ὀννώφρεως ὡς ἐτῶν τεσ⟨σ⟩αράκ[ο]ν-
τα οὐλὴ μετώπωι τῶι ἑαυτοῦ ὁμο-
πατρίωι ἀδελφῶι Ὀννώφρι ὡς ἐτῶ(ν)
δέκα ὀκτὼ ἀσήμωι, τὸν ὁμ[ο]λο-
γοῦντα Μάρωνα ἀπέχειν παρὰ τοῦ
Ὀννώφρεως ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς
εἴκοσι παραχ[ρ]ῆμ[α διὰ χ]ειρὸ[ς ἐ]ξ ο[ἴ-
κου αἵ εἰσιν δ[ι]αταγῖσαι ἀ[πὸ] τοῦ
τετελευτηκότος αὐ[το]ῦ π[α]τρὸς
Ὀν[ν]ώφρεως τ[οῦ] Ἀφροδισίου
κατὰ μ[εριτ]είαν ἣν [ἔνε]με
ἡμεῖν περιών, καὶ μηθὲν
τὸν Μάρωνα μηδέ τινα π[αρ' αὐτοῦ
τῶι ἀδελφῶι Ὀννώφρι μ[η]δέ τ[ιν]ι παρ'
[αὐτοῦ] ἐνκαλεῖν μηδ' ἐπικ[αλεῖν

μηδὲ ἐπελεύσεσ[θα]ι τῶν π[ερὶ τὴ]ν ἀπο-
χὴν ταύτην καὶ μηδὲν . . . τῃ ὁ-
μολογίᾳ επαμ . . [.] . . . . . . [. .]κ[. .
με Μάρωνος ὑ[πο]γράφοντες Παππίω(ν)
Χάρητος ὡ(ς) (ἐτῶν) μ οὐλ(ὴ) δ[α]κ(τύλῳ) μι(κρῷ) χι(ρὸς) ἀριστ(ερᾶς),
Ἥρων Παπ(πίωνος) ὡ(ς) (ἐτῶν) νβ ο(ὐλὴ) δακ(τύλῳ) μ[ι](κρῷ) χι(ρὸς)
ἀριστερᾶς.

2nd hand Μάρων πρε(σβύτερος) Ὀ[ν]νώφρεως
ὁμολογῶ ἀπ[έχειν π]αρὰ το[ῦ
ὁμοπατρίου μου [ἀ]δελφῶι Ὀννώ(φρεως)
παραχρῆμα διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ ὔκου
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς εἴ[κ]οσι αἵ εἰσι-
ν διαταγεῖσ{σ}αί μοι κατὰ μεριτί-
αν ἀπὸ τοῦ τετελευ[τ]ηκότος
μου πατρὸς Ὀννώφρεως Ἀφροδισίο(υ),
καὶ οὐθὲν ἐνκαλῶ οὐδὲ ἐνκα-
λέσιν καθὼς πρ[ό]κειται. ἔγρ-
αψεν ὑπὲρ [αὐτ]οῦ Βραδέω(ς) γρά-
φοντος Παππίων Χαρήτου.

3rd hand Μάρων πρεσβύτ[ε]ρος Ὀνν-
ώφρεως ἀπέχω καὶ οὐθὲν
ἐνκαλῶ κ[α]θὼ[ς π]ρόκιτ-
αι. (4th hand) Ὀννῶφ(ρ)ις Ὀννώφ(ρ)ιος
[. . .] . . . [.] . ι μοι ἡ ἀποχ(ὴ) καθὼς πρόκ(ειται).
[ἔ]γρ(αψεν) ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἥρων Παπ(πίωνος) . . . . . α( )
[. . . .] . γράμματα. (5th hand) ἔτους ἑνδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρο(ς)
[Οὐεσπασ]ιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, μη(νὸς) Νέου [Σε]β(αστοῦ) ζ, ἀν[αγέγρ(απται)]
. . . . πρὸ(ς)
[τῷ Εὐ]η(μερείας) γρ[αφείῳ.

On the *verso*

ἀποχ(ὴ) [Μά]ρω(νος) πρὸ(ς) [Ὀ]ννῶ(φριν) | [. . .]ο[. . .

29. l. ἀδελφοῦ. 30. l. οἴκου. 35. l. ἐγκαλέσω for ενκαλεσιν. 38. l. Χάρητος.

'The eleventh year of the Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, the 7th of the month Neos Sebastus, at Euhemeria in the division of Themistes in the Arsinoite nome.

Maron the elder, son of Onnophris, about forty years old, having a scar on his forehead, agrees with his brother on the father's side, Onnophris, about eighteen years old with no distinguishing mark, that he, Maron, has received from Onnophris twenty drachmae of silver directly from hand to hand from his house, being the sum bequeathed by his deceased father Onnophris, son of Aphrodisius, in accordance with the division which he made between us while he was alive, and that neither Maron nor any representative of Maron makes any claim or charge against his brother Onnophris or any representative of his, and will not proceed against him for anything concerning the present receipt . . .'

Descriptions of the two *ὑπογραφεῖς*, acknowledgement of Maron written by one *ὑπογραφεύς*, brief acknowledgement by Maron himself, signature of Onnophris written by the other *ὑπογραφεύς*, and docket of the registry office of Euhemeria.

44. The last four lines are written in a very minute scrawl; *μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα* is of course meant, but we cannot reconcile this or the ordinary variations of it with the vestiges. Similarly at the end of 46 *διὰ τοῦ πρὸς* . . . is required (cf. xcviii. 28), but does not seem to have been written.

XCVIII. Receipt for House-Rent.

Kaṣr el Banât. 21·2 × 10·8 *cm.* A.D. 123.

Acknowledgement by Heraclides and Nilus of the receipt from Tauris of a year's rent for a house at Euhemeria which was leased to her by them.

[Ἔ]του[ς ὀ]γδ[ό]ου Αὐτοκράτο[ρο]ς Καίσαρος
Τρα[ια]νοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, μην[ὸ]ς Περιτίου ε
Χοίαχ ε, ἐν Εὐημερείᾳ τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος
τοῦ Ἀ[ρ]σ[ι]νοείτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογοῦσι Ἡρακλείδης
Φιλα[δέ]λφου ἀνα[γρ]αφόμενος ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἱερᾶς
Πύλη[ς] ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἓξ ο[ὐ]λὴ [γ]όνατι ἀριστερῷ
καὶ Νεῖλος Ἥρων[ο]ς ἀναγραφόμενος ἐπ' ἀμφόδο(υ)
Διονυσίου Τόπων [ὡς ἐτ]ῶν εἴκοσι πέντε ἄσημος
Ταύρι Ἀτρείους ὡς ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα ἀσήμωι
μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρ[ὸς] Πνεφερῶτος τοῦ Πνεφε-
ρῶτος ὡ[ς ἐτ]ῶν πεντ[ήκο]ντα πέντε οὐλὴ πήχι
ἀριστερῷ, ἀπέχιν τοὺς ὁμ[ο]λογο(ῦ)ντας παρὰ τῆς
Ταύρεως τὰ ἐνοίκια τοῦ διεληλυθότος ἑβδόμου
ἔτους Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ἧς κατοικῖ
αὐτῶν κοινωνικῆς ο[ἰκίας] ἐν κώμῃ Εὐημερείᾳ,
καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς μη[δὲ τοὺ]ς παρ' αὐτῶν τῇ Ταύρι
μηδὲ τοῖς παρ' αὐτ[ῆς ἐνκα]λ[εῖν] μηδὲ ἐπελεύσεσθ(αι)

περὶ ὧν ἀπέχουσι ὡ[ς πρόκ(ειται)]. ὑπ[ο]γρ(αφεὺς) τῶν ὁμολ(ογούντων) Μύσθης Ἥρωνος ὡ(ς) ἐτῶν κ ἄση[μος] (2nd hand) Ἡρακλείδης Φιλαδέλφ[ο]υ καὶ Νεῖλος Ἥρωνος ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀπέχιν παρ[ὰ τῆ]ς Ταύρεως τὰ ἐνοίκια τοῦ διεληλυθότος ἑβδόμου ἔτους Ἁδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ἧς κατοικῖ ἡμ[ῶν] κοινωνικῆς οἰκίας ἐν κώμῃ Εὐημ[ερείᾳ], καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνκαλοῦμεν καθὼς [π]ρόκιται. ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Μύσθη[ς Ἥρ]ωνος μ[ὴ ἰδ]ότος γράμματα.

1st hand [(ἔτους) ὀ]γ[δ]όου, μηνὶ Χ[οί]αχ ε, διὰ Ἥρω[ν]ος τοῦ πρὸς τῷ [γρ]αφίῳ Εὐημερ[εία]ς.

On the *verso*

ἀποχὴ ἐνοικίω(ν) ζ (ἔτους) Τ[αύρεως.

8. τ of τοπων corr. 9. υ of Ταυρι corr. fr. τ. 27. Above the second ο of ιδ[οτος is ο or ω. l. εἰδ]ότων.

'The eighth year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, the 5th of the month Peritius=Choiach 5, at Euhemeria in the division of Themistes of the Arsinoite nome. Heraclides, son of Philadelphus, registered in the quarter of the Sacred Gate, about thirty-six years old, having a scar on his left knee, and Nilus, son of Heron, registered in the quarter of Dionysius' Region, about twenty-five years old, with no distinguishing mark, acknowledge to Tauris, daughter of Hatres, about fifty years old, with no distinguishing mark, acting with her guardian who is her husband Pnepheros, son of Pnepheros, about fifty-five years old, having a scar on his left fore-arm, that they have received from Tauris the rent for the past seventh year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, of the house at Euhemeria jointly owned by them at which she lives, and that neither they nor their representatives have any claim against Tauris or her representatives, and will not proceed against her or them for anything connected with the rent which they here received as aforesaid. The attestor for the acknowledging parties is Mysthes, son of Heron, about twenty years old, with no distinguishing mark.' Acknowledgement of Heraclides and Nilus written by Mysthes, and docket of the registry-office at Euhemeria.

XCIX. Receipt for Farm-Rent.

Harît. 18·5 × 6·5 *cm.* A.D. 159.

Acknowledgement by Didyme of the receipt of 2¼ artabae (of wheat?) from her tenant Heron.

Διδύμη ἡ καὶ Μα-
τρώνα Ἀσκληπιάδ(ου)
μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ
[κ]ατὰ μητέρα
μου ἀνεψιοῦ
Ἥρων[ο]ς τοῦ Ἀπολλ(ωνίου)
Ἥρωνι Σαταβοῦτ(ος)
γεωργ(ῷ) χαίρειν. ἀπέχω
παρὰ σοῦ τὰ ἐκφόρ[ια τ]οῦ
κβ (ἔτους) οὗ [γεω]ργεῖ(ς) μο[υ
κλήρου [. .] ἀ[ρ]τάβας
δύο τέ[ταρ]τον,
τῆς ἀρταβείας καὶ
τοῦ ναυβίου ὄν-
τος πρὸς σὲ τὸν
Ἥρωνα. (ἔτους) κβ
Ἀντωνίνου Καίσα-
ρος τοῦ κυρίου,
Ἐπὶφ κη.

9. παρα σου over the line.

'Didyme, also called Matrona, daughter of Asclepiades, with her guardian, her cousin on the mother's side, Heron, son of Apollonius, to Heron, son of Satabous, cultivator, greeting. I have received from you the rent for the 22nd year of my plot which you cultivate, two and a quarter artabae, the tax of an artaba and the naubion being payable by you, Heron. The 22nd year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Epeiph 28.'

11. If ἀ[ρ]τάβας is right, the sign for πυροῦ is probably lost in the lacuna.

13. ἀρταβείας: cf. C. P. R. I. 1. 16 καθαρὰ ἀπὸ μὲν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων πάντων καὶ [ἑτέρων εἰ]δῶν καὶ ἀρταβειῶν καὶ ναυβίων καὶ ἀριθμητικῶν καὶ ἐπιβολῆς κώμης. Probably the ordinary land-tax, which was sometimes about one artaba to the aroura on corn land (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 207), is meant.

C. Order on a Bank.

Harit. 25·5 × 11·3 *cm.* A.D. 99.

An order addressed to a banker by a woman called Aphrodous requesting him to pay two women both named Charition six hundred drachmae, being the price of half a house and appurtenances at Theadelphia, bought by her from them. At the end are acknowledgements of the receipt of the money by the two vendors, written by their respective husbands. The first part of the document is analogous to a modern cheque.

Ἀφροδοῦς Σατ[ύ]ρ[ο]υ με[τὰ] κυρίου τοῦ συν-
γενοῦς Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἡρ(α)κλείδου Σαμβᾶ
τῷ καὶ Διδύμῳ τραπ[ε]ζ[ε]ίτῃ χα[ί]ρειν. χρη-
μάτισον Χαριτίῳ τῇ καὶ Τασουχαρίῳ
Χαριδήμου καὶ Χαρ[ι]τίῳ Διδύμου

μετὰ κυρίων ἑκάστ[η]ς τοῦ ἀνδρός, τ[ῇ] μὲν Χαριτίῳ τῆς καὶ Τα[σ]ουχαρίῳ Ἀπολλων[ί]ου τοῦ Ἀπολλω[νί]ου, [τ]ῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ Χαριτίῳ Ἥρωνος τοῦ Διδύμου, τιμὴν ἡμύσους μέρους οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆ[ς] καὶ τόπων [κ]αὶ τῶν συνκυρόντων πάντων ἐν κώ[μῃ] Θεαδελφείᾳ τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδ(ος) [ἀκ]ολ{ολ}ούθως ταῖς γεγονυίαις εἰς αὐ[τὰς] [. .] . ιαις καταγραφαῖς, ἃς ἔχις μου ἐν θέματι ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑξακοσί[ας], / (δραχμαὶ) χ. (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νερούα Τραιανο(ῦ) Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Τῦβ[ι] κη. (2nd hand.) Χαρίτιον Διδύμου μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἥρωνος τοῦ Διδύμου καταχώρισον, καὶ ἀνίρημαι τὰς ἐπιβαλλούσας μοι ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) τριακοσίας, / (δραχμαὶ) τ. Ἥρων ἔγραψα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικός μου μὴ εἰδυίης γράμματα. (ἔτους) δευτέρου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νερούα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Τῦβι κη.

3rd hand. Χαρίτιον ἡ καὶ Τασουχ(άρ)ιον Χαριδήμου μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολ⟨λ⟩ωνίου τοῦ Ἀπίωνος ἀνίρημαι τὰς δραχμὰς τριακοσίας, / (δραχμαὶ) τ. Ἀπολλώνιος ἔγραψα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικός μου μὴ ἰδυείης γράμματα.

On the *verso* traces of four obliterated lines.

7. l. τῇ καί. 10. l. ἡμίσους. σους με over the line. 19. l. ἀνήρημαι, so in 26. 29. l. εἰδυίας.

'Aphrodous, daughter of Satyrus, with her guardian, her kinsman Ammonius, son of Heraclides, to Sambas also called Didymus, banker, greeting. Pay to Charition also called Tasoucharion, daughter of Charidemus, and Charition, daughter of Didymus, with their respective guardians their husbands, of Charition also called Tasoucharion Apollonius, son of Apollonius, and of the other Charition Heron, son of Didymus, the price of a half-share of a house and court and grounds and all the appurtenances at the village of Theadelphia in the division of Themistes in accordance with the legal contracts which I have made with them, the six hundred drachmae belonging to me which you have on deposit, total 600 dr. The second year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus, Tubi 28.' Acknowledgements of the receipt of 300

drachmae each by Charition, daughter of Didymus, and the other Charition, written by their respective husbands.

8. τοῦ Ἀπολλω[νί]ου: Apollonius in his signature below (line 26) calls himself the son of Apion, so Ἀπολλω[νί]ου here must be a clerical error.

14. Perhaps κυ]ρίαις, but the vestiges of the letter preceding ιαις do not suit ρ very well.

CI. Account.

Kaṣr el Banât. 21·8 x 22·7 *cm*. About B.C. 18.

Both the *recto* and *verso* of this papyrus are occupied with accounts, those on the *recto* and in Col. II of the *verso* referring to payments in kind, those on the first column of the *verso* to payments in money. The payments in kind are made in wheat, cummin, lentils, and cnecus, the last three of which are, in the main account, subsequently converted into wheat. One interest of the figures lies in the fact that among the fractions of the artaba mentioned are included fifths and tenths, which have not previously occurred in the papyri, the usual fractions being $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{12}$, $\frac{1}{24}$, $\frac{1}{48}$ (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 749). How many choinices this artaba contained we do not know; in l. 3, however, it is described as δρό(μῳ), which was the largest standard; and this, coupled with the occurrence of the fractions $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, makes it probable that the Ptolemaic artaba of 40 choinices is meant. This, as is shown by Ox. Pap. I. 9, *verso* 8, was divided into ten μέτρα, so that the fifths and tenths here would mean amounts of two μέτρα and one μέτρον. The artaba of 40 choinices is not known to have been employed in the Roman times; but that it survived at any rate among metrologists is proved by the Oxyrhynchus papyrus; and there is no improbability in its use at so early a date in the Roman period as that of these accounts. They were found with a number of other documents mostly belonging to the reign of Augustus; and this papyrus in particular was tied up with three others also containing accounts (ccxxxii–iv), of which ccxxxiii, written in a hand very similar to that here, is dated in the twelfth year.

The money account on the *verso* gives some information concerning the prices of oil, cummin, and cnecus. One choinix of oil is valued at 5 drachmae, an artaba of cummin at 7 dr., an artaba of cnecus at 4 dr. There is also a very surprising conversion of copper into silver, 1750 drachmae of copper being distinctly stated to be the equivalent of one drachma of silver. It is known from a number of Oxyrhynchus papyri (II. 242, 243, &c.) that in the

latter part of the first century A.D. the ratio between Ptolemaic copper and silver was 450 : 1; and a proportion of 350 : 1 for the close of the first century B.C. is given by xliv and cccviii of this volume; cf. introd. to xliv. Unless therefore copper temporarily underwent a most unaccountable depreciation at the time when this account was written, it must be supposed that the writer made a blunder in his figures. The latter alternative is not at all unlikely since the whole account is a badly spelled production, and other mistakes in arithmetic occur; cf. notes on *recto* I. 6–7, II. 3–4, *verso* I. 14.

The papyrus is composed of two *selides* or sheets which are wrongly joined together, so that the horizontal fibres of one *selis* and the vertical fibres of the other come together. Consequently the terms *recto* and *verso* cannot strictly be applied to the whole sheet. We call the *recto* the side which seems to have been first written upon and in which the larger *selis* has the fibres placed horizontally. The *recto* of this larger sheet had been previously used, but the earlier writing was carefully washed off.

Recto Col. I.

(Ἔτους) [. .], Παῦνι κγ.
β̣[.] . ζευγῶν λζ
ἀ[νὰ] (πυροῦ) ί, / (πυροῦ) δρό(μῳ) (ἀρτάβαι) γ (ἥμισυ) ϵ́.
λικμηταὶ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α β́,
ῥατωκωπαι γ́,
φώρεδρον πολῃων νγ
ἀν[ὰ] (πυροῦ) ϛ́, / (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ζ (ἥμισυ) γ̈.
κ[αὶ] ἐκφωριων (πυροῦ) ϛ́ (ἀρτάβαι) ρνδ.
κ̣α̣ὶ̣ κυμίνου σὺν
τοῖς διαφώροις ϛ́ (ἀρτάβαι) λγ,
καὶ Πτολᾶτι γραμματης (ἥμισυ),
/ κυμίνου (ἀρτάβαι) λγ (ἥμισυ).
καὶ φωρεδρων πολῃων ϵ
ἀνὰ κυμίνου ϛ́, αἱ κυ(μίνου) (ἥμισυ) γ́,
/ το( ) κυ(μίνου) (ἀρτάβαι) λδ γ́.
καὶ φακοῦ ϛ́ (ἀρτάβαι) ιϵ,
φωρε[δ]ρων ὄνοι ϵ ἀνὰ ϛ́, / (ἥμισυ) γ́,
καὶ τοῖς μαχαιροφώροις

Col. II.

καὶ Ἀγήνωρι κα ἱ,
καὶ κνῆκος ξ (ἀρτάβαι) ν,
αἳ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ξ, / το( ) ἐκφωριων.
(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) σκθ, καὶ κηπωρῷ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α, / (ἀρτάβαι) σλ.
ἀνθ' ὧν (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) σμζ (ἥμισυ),
καταλίπεται (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ιζ (ἥμισυ),
καὶ ἀργυρίου (δραχμαὶ) ξ.
ἄλ(λος) λόγος. κνῆκον· κη
Ταςύτη ἐργάται θ,
κθ η, λ ε
Ἐπεὶφ α ζ, β δ,
/ ἐργά(ται) λγ ἀνὰ (πυροῦ) ἱ, / (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) γ ἐ ἱ.
Ἐπεὶφ γ ῥατωκωποι η,
δ θ, / ἐργά(ται) ιζ ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ) ἱ,
/ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) α (ἥμισυ) ἐ.
ἄλ(λος) λόγος. κλῆρος Πεταῦτος,
β ἐργάται θ, γ η,
ὁμο(ίως) ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κλῆρος

Col. III.

ῥατωκωποι θ,
/ ἐργά(ται) κϛ,
ἀνὰ (πυροῦ) ἱ, / (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) β (ἥμισυ) ἱ.
L κριτωπυρον (ἀρτάβη) α,
καὶ φακοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) β,
καὶ κνῆκος (ἀρτάβη) α.

Verso Col. I.

λόγος ἀργυρίου.
τοῖς ἐργάταις (δραχμαὶ) ι,
ῥατωκωποις κυμίνου (δραχμαὶ) δ,
μαχαιρωφόροις (δραχμαὶ) ϛ,
δαπάνης (δραχμαὶ) δ,
ὁμο(ίως) χα(λκοῦ) Ἀφ, ὁμο(ίως) χα(λκοῦ) τν,

/ χα(λκοῦ) Ἀψν, αἳ (δραχμὴ) α, / το( ) (δραχμαὶ) κε.
καὶ τιμῆς ζύτου (δραχμαὶ) δ,
/ (δραχμαὶ) κθ. καὶ τιμ(ῆς) ἐλαίου χοί(νικος) α (δραχμαὶ) ε.
/ το( ) (δραχμαὶ) λδ. L τιμ(ῆς) κυμίνου (ἀρτάβης) α (δραχμαὶ) ζ.
καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀφρασηι (δραχμαὶ) δ,
καὶ ὑπὲρ Μεσθας (δραχμαὶ) δ,
καὶ τιμ(ῆς) κνήκου (ἀρταβῶν) δ (δραχμαὶ) ις, / (δραχμαὶ) κδ.
ἀνθ' ὧν (δραχμαὶ) κθ. καταλίπεται (δραχμαὶ) γ.
ἄνω· Παῦνι δ ἕως Ἐπεὶφ ιε.

Col. II.

λό(γος). Μεδρήσιος (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ρν,
κηπωρῷ (ἀρτάβη) α,
κνή(κου) αἳ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ξ,
φακοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) ιε,
κριθωπυροῦ (ἀρτάβαι) δ,
/ (ἀρτάβαι) Σλ.

Recto I. 6. l. φόρετρον, so in 13. 8. l. ἐκφόριον; so in II. 3. 9. This line over an erasure. 11. l. Πτολλᾶτι γραμματεῖ. II. 1. κ of κα corr. from ι? 6. ε of καταλιπεται corr. from τα. ιζ corr. from ιη. 12. Sign for ἀρτάβαι corr. from τ. 18. l. κλήρῳ. III. 4. l. κριθοπυροῦ. *Verso* I. 11. l. Ἀφραήσιος.

Recto I. 5. ῥατωκωπαι: elsewhere (II. 13, III. 1, *verso* I. 3) spelled ῥατωκωποι. The latter half of the word and the proximity of πολησων (l. 6), which possibly stands for πλοίων, might suggest that 'rowers' of some kind are meant. But the great number of the 'πολησων' is against the supposition that πλοίων was intended; and the ῥατωκωποι who are classed as ἐργάται, and are connected with a κλῆρος (*recto* II. 18—III. 2) look much more like farm-labourers of some kind than boatmen. πώλων (cf. 17 φωρε[δ]ρων ὄνοι) is another possible though not very likely correction for πολησων.

6. πολησων: cf. 13, and the previous note.

6–7. There seems to be some mistake in the arithmetic here. The fraction after ἀν[ὰ] (πυροῦ) is almost certainly either ς' or γ', and the latter is manifestly impossible. ζ could hardly be read, apart from the improbability of the occurrence of this fraction of the artaba. But if the ς' is the right figure the amount at the end of line 7 ought to be $8\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{3}$, in place of which we have 7 for 8, and a fraction after the $\frac{1}{2}$ which is not written in the way that $\frac{1}{3}$ is elsewhere in this papyrus, having three dashes above the γ instead of one. If it may be supposed that this γ with three dashes means the same fraction as the γ with one dash, then all that has happened is that ζ was written by mistake for η. But this solution is not altogether satisfactory.

8. ς': cf. 10 and 16 and II. 2, where ς' is similarly inserted before the sign for ἀρτάβαι.

The only explanation that offers itself is that ϛ here stands for ἕκτῳ, sc. μέτρῳ, 'by the sixth-part measure.' The account for ἐκφόριον extends from this point to II. 4.

15. το( ): cf. II. 3, *verso* I. 7, 10—always in reckoning up totals. Here and in II. 3 the abbreviation might stand as usual for το(ῦ), but this is inadmissible in *verso* I. 7, 10, where there is no substantive following, and some phrase like τοῦ ὅλου is required.

II. 1. The meaning of κα after Ἀγήνορι is doubtful. Perhaps the letters refer to the day of the month on which this particular payment was made, the other payments, as stated at the beginning of Col. I, having taken place on Pauni 23. κα might also be the number of the μαχαιροφόροι including Agenor, but $\frac{1}{10}$ of an artaba would be a very small amount for twenty-one persons. Possibly an abbreviation, e.g. κα(μηλίτῃ), was intended.

3–4. The amounts of κύμινον ($34\frac{1}{3}$ artabae), φακός ($15\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}$ artabae), and κνῆκος (50 artabae) stated in I. 9—II. 2 are converted into wheat (60 artabae), and the total amount of wheat for ἐκφόριον is said to be 229 artabae. This is 15 artabae in excess, since the only other amount of wheat under the head of ἐκφόριον is the 154 artabae in I. 8. Either therefore 15 artabae have got in by mistake (from I. 16?), or the amounts of wheat mentioned in I. 1–7 are included. As a matter of fact the sum of those amounts, reckoning $8\frac{2}{3}$ in line 7 (cf. note, *ad loc.*) is $14\frac{5}{12}$ artabae, not 15, so in any case the arithmetic will be loose.

8–10. The numbers κη, κθ, λ are those of the day of the month, θ, η, and ε those of the ἐργάται. Cf. the following line and 14, 17.

III. 4. The sign at the beginning of this line means 'deduct.' It occurs again in *verso* I. 10.

κριθοπυρός means a mixture of wheat and barley, which had been sown together; cf. *Archiv* I. p. 174, C. Wachsmuth in *Jahrbücher für Nationalökon. und Statistik* III. xix. p. 778[2].

Verso I. 9. ἐλαίου χοί(νικος): it is very surprising to find oil measured by the χοῖνιξ, which was a dry measure. Probably either ἐλαιῶν χοί(νικος) or ἐλαίου χο(ός) was intended.

14. There is here another blunder in the figures; either κθ should be κζ or γ should be ε. The first alternative is the more probable, the 27 drachmae being obtained by the subtraction of the 7 from the 34 dr. in line 10. Otherwise these 27 drachmae are not taken into account in the total.

15. The meaning of ἄνω here is that the following dates 'Pauni 4 to Epeiph 15' should have headed the account, like the date at the beginning of *recto* I. ἄνω and κάτω often occur in this sense in literary papyri, standing at the beginning or end of an addition inserted in the upper or lower margin, e.g. Ox. Pap. II. 223. Col. V. 126.

II. 4. αἱ (πυροῦ) is perhaps to be understood after φακοῦ from the previous line, since the ἀρτάβαι are all added up together in 6, and this is the only heterogeneous item.

CII. Farm-Accounts.

Kaṣr el Banât. 26·1 × 33·6 *cm.* About A.D. 105.

Of this papyrus, which originally may have been a roll of some length, the last column and the ends of lines of the column preceding it are preserved, with two detached fragments from an earlier column. The two last columns, of which we print the greater part of the second, are occupied with accounts

of wages paid on different days for agricultural labour. Both men and boys were employed, and the operation in which they were commonly engaged is τινάσσειν, 'shaking,' a term of rather dubious signification; and after each total of wages for the day is recorded the number of baskets (σφυρίδες) produced, being always rather below the aggregate of men and boys. An alternative explanation of these σφυρίδες would be to suppose that they were served out to the labourers to work with. But a comparison of the detached fragments of the earlier column, in which the wages paid to workmen are coupled not with σφυρίδες but amounts of γόμοι and δράγμ(ατα) of wheat and barley, makes it more probable that the σφυρίδες represent the result of the work. Wages are also paid to boys διαλέγοντες πτῶμα (gleaning?) and to παρθένοι λικνίζουσαι, 'girls winnowing.' The rate of wages paid is for men, 6 obols; young men, 5 obols; and boys, 4, 3½, 3, 2½, 2 obols, and even 1 obol, the amount no doubt being proportionate to size and strength. In connexion with the γόμοι and δράγματα a rather higher rate, 7 or 8 obols for a man, seem to have been paid. A still higher rate for the wages of ἐργάται, 9 obols a man, is found in cccxxxi. These wages altogether show an increase in rate as compared with those in the long farm accounts on the *recto* of Brit. Mus. Pap. 131 (A.D. 78–9), where the daily wage of an ordinary labourer appears as 3 to 4 obols, and that of a boy as 2½ obols. The present document is not much later than that papyrus in date. It was found together with the correspondence of Gemellus (cf. cx introd.); and no doubt the accounts relate to his estates. The letters of Gemellus show that he owned land at Apias, Dionysias, and Senthis, the three place-names occurring in this column, and in the previous column there is mention of the νεόφυτ(α) Σαβίνου, who may well be Gemellus' son Sabinus. The seventh year, which is also there mentioned, will therefore most probably be that of Trajan, i.e. A.D. 103–4.

ιθ ὁμοίω(ς) εἰς Ἀπιάδα τι[να]σσό(ντων) ἐργ(ατῶν) ιη (ὀβολοὶ) ρη, ἄλ(λων) νεω(τέρων) ἐργ(ατῶν) ιβ (ὀβολοὶ) ξ,
καὶ παίδ(ων) ια [(ὀβολοὶ)] μδ, ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) ζ (ὀβολοὶ) κδ (ἥμισυ), ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) ζ (ὀβολοὶ) κα, ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) ια
(ὀβολοὶ) κζ (ἥμισυ), ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) β (ὀβολοὶ) δ, ἄλ(λου) παιδ(ὸς) α
(ὀβολὸς) α. γ(ίνονται) (ὀβολοὶ) Σϙ, σφυρίδ(ες) νε, ἐγλεκ(τοὶ) ἄλ(λαι) ε.
κα ὁμοίω(ς) ἐργ(ατῶν) κα (ὀβολοὶ) ρκϛ, ἄλ(λων) νεω(τέρων) ἐργ(ατῶν) ιγ (ὀβολοὶ) ξε, καὶ παίδ(ων) ιε (ὀβολοὶ) ξ,
ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) κγ (ὀβολοὶ) π (ἥμισυ), ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) γ (ὀβολοὶ) θ, ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) θ (ὀβολοὶ) κβ (ἥμισυ), ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) θ

(ὀβολοὶ) ιη. γί(νονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (ὀβολοὶ) τπα, σφυρίδ(ες) ος, ἐγλεκ(τοὶ) ἄλ(λαι) β.
κβ ὁμοίω(ς) ἐργ(ατῶν) η (ὀβολοὶ) μη, ἄλ(λων) ἐργ(ατῶν) ι (ὀβολοὶ) ν, καὶ παίδ(ων) ιδ (ὀβολοὶ) νς, ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) ζ
(ὀβολοὶ) κδ (ἥμισυ), ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) ιε (ὀβολοὶ) με, ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) β (ὀβολοὶ) ε, ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) ιδ (ὀβολοὶ) κη.
γί(νονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (ὀβολοὶ) Σνς (ἥμισυ), σφυρίδ(ες) ξζ, ἐγλεκ(τοὶ) ἄλ(λαι) γ.
κγ ὁμοίω(ς) ἐργ(ατῶν) β (ὀβολοὶ) ιβ, καὶ παιδ(ὸς) α (ὀβολοὶ) δ, ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) ζ (ὀβολοὶ) κα, γί(νονται) (ὀβολοὶ) λζ, σφυρίδ(ες) γ.
γί(νονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὅλου τοῦ κτήματ(ος) σφυρίδ(ες) Σια, (δραχμαὶ) ρλζ (πεντώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον).
κδ ὁμοίω(ς) εἰς τὴν Σένθεω(ς) τινασσό(ντων) ἐργ(ατῶν) ις (ὀβολοὶ) ϙς, ἄλ(λων) νεω(τέρων) ἐργ(ατῶν) β (ὀβολοὶ) ι,
καὶ παιδ(ὸς) α (ὀβολοὶ) δ, ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) ια (ὀβολοὶ) κζ (ἥμισυ), ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) θ (ὀβολοὶ) ιη. γί(νονται) ἐπὶ τὸ
αὐτὸ (ὀβολοὶ) ρνε (ἥμισυ), σφυρίδες λβ, ἐγλεκ(τοὶ) ἄλ(λαι) δ.
κε ὁμοίω(ς) ἐργ(ατῶν) ιε (ὀβολοὶ) ϙ, ἄλ(λου) νεω(τέρου) ἐργ(άτου) α (ὀβολοὶ) ε, καὶ παιδ(ὸς) α (ὀβολοὶ) δ, ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) ια
[(ὀβολοὶ) κ]ζ (ἥμισυ), ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) ια (ὀβολοὶ) κβ. γί(νονται) (ὀβολοὶ) ρμη (ἥμισυ), σφυρίδ(ες) λα.
[κ .] ὁμοίω(ς) ἐργ(ατῶν) β (ὀβολοὶ) ιβ, καὶ παιδ(ὸς) α (ὀβολοὶ) δ, ἄ[λ(λων)] παί[δ(ων) ι]γ (ὀβολοὶ) λβ (ἥμισυ), ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) ζ
(ὀβολοὶ) ιδ. γί(νονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (ὀβολοὶ) ξβ (ἥμισυ), σφυρίδ(ες) ια.
γί(νονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὅλου τοῦ κτήματος σφυρίδ(ες) οη, (δραχμαὶ) νβ (διώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον).
κθ ὁμοίω(ς) εἰς Διονυσιάδα διαλεγόντ(ων) πτῶμα παίδ(ων) κ ὀβολοὶ ξ,
ἄλ(λων) παίδ(ων) ιε (ὀβολοὶ) λ. γί(νονται) (ὀβολοὶ) ϙ, σφυρίδ(ες) νθ.

There follow three other entries under the 30th and Mecheir the 1st and 2nd, and the column then ends

γί(νονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὅλου τοῦ κτήματος σφυρίδ(ες) ρξζ, (δραχμαὶ) ϙβ (τριώβολον).
γί(νονται) ὅλου τοῦ τιναγμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σφυρίδ(ες) ωλ, [(δραχμαὶ)] ψλη (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιώβολον).
καὶ παρθέ(νων) λικνιζουσῶ(ν) σῖτον (δραχμαὶ) ι (ὀβολοὶ) ε.

1. τι[να]σσό(ντων): the verb τινάσσειν does not seem to be used elsewhere as an agricultural term, and has no very obvious sense. It might mean 'sifting' earth, or perhaps 'threshing' corn of some kind. The other operations mentioned (διαλέγειν πτῶμα, λικνίζειν) are apparently both connected with the harvest.

3. ἐγλεκ(τοί): 'selected,' i.e. of a better quality than the rest.

11. (δραχμαὶ) ρλζ κ.τ.λ.: the obols are throughout reckoned as 7 to the drachma, i.e. the drachmae are on the silver standard.

CIII. Funeral Expenses.

Harit. 5·5 × 11·4 *cm.* Third century A.D.

A short account of expenses incurred for a burial. The items are much the same as those in Gr. Pap. II. lxxvii, a letter in which the writer requests that various sums expended by himself in connexion with the illness and death of a friend should be refunded by the latter's relatives.

The account, the writing of which is in places partially obliterated, is upon the *verso* of a fragment of another account.

Λ[όγος] ἀναλώματος τοῦ νεκροῦ.
β̣λ̣ά̣βη ἦν π̣ρὸς̣ τὴν ταφὴν α . . . . τωρια
ἀ̣νὰ (δραχμὰς) μη, [μ]ισθὸς τοῖς ἠρκάσι αὐτὸν
ε . . . (δραχμαὶ ?) ις̣ (ὀβολοὶ) κ̣, στ[ε]φανίων (ὀβολοὶ) ιβ, οἴνου
. . . . [.]ον (δραχμαὶ) [.]δ, (ὀβολοὶ) κ.

3. l. ἠρκάσι.

'Account of expenses for the corpse. The expenses were for the burial, . . . at 48 drachmae, wages of the bearers . . . 16 drachmae 20 obols, wreaths 12 obols, a . . . of wine [ ]4 drachmae 20 obols.'

2. ἐλάβη could be read in place of βλάβη. Between the final η and ην is a short horizontal stroke at the top of the line which may represent a letter, e.g. σ. At the end of the line ἀνακτώρια could be read, but this is not suitable.

5. The traces at the beginning of the line do not suit either κεράμιον or κνίδιον.

CIV. Account.

Harit. 30 × 15·5 *cm.* Late third century.

Parts of two columns of an account, which is unfortunately broken in such a manner that only the figures of the first column and the names of the second remain. We print the latter which contains some interesting words.

The largeness of the sums in the first column (seven items of 100 drachmae and upwards, five of 1000 drachmae and upwards) indicates the late date of the papyrus, but they have otherwise no value. The payments in the second column are for a variety of purposes, but a number of them are connected with a boat or boats, and perhaps they may all have been made on the occasion of a journey by water. Nicopolis is mentioned in line 12.

On the *verso* of this papyrus is written cxxxiii.

λαγύνων ὑελῶν μεικ̣[ρῶν
πλευρῶν ὑελῶν δ´ [
οἴνου λαγ(ύνου) ξενικοῦ [
ταβλίων μαγειρικ[ῶν
θηκίων β εἰς βει̣β̣[λία
ἑτέρων μαγει[ρ]ικῶ[ν
ἡμιναύλου πλοίου [
ἐνορμίου [
καλύβης α [
δευτέρας [
τετραστύλου [
ζύτου κατὰ μέρος τέλους Νεικο-
πόλεως [
κρηπῖδος [
ἐραυνηταῖς [
ταβου[λαρί]ῳ̣ [
εὐθε . [. . . .]

α[. .]ρ̣ . . ῳ̣ [
ἐραυνηταῖς εὐθεν[ίας
ἐραυνηταῖς ἀνα . [
ξυλικοῦ [
σχεδίας ὁμοίως [
ξενικοῦ οἴνου [
τυμωλειτικίων [
ἐλαίου μετρητοῦ [
ἐπιστατείας [
βαστάζουσι [
συμβόλου [
γάρου ξενικοῦ [
γάρου κεραμίω[ν
ἐπιστατείας [
[σ]υμβόλου [
ἐρ̣[αυ]νητ[αῖς
ο̣[

2. πλευρῶν: neither πλευρά or πλευρόν seems to occur elsewhere meaning a vessel of any sort, which must be the sense here as they were made of glass.

11. τετραστύλου probably means a small model shrine.

12. ζύτου κατὰ μέρος is inserted in the margin, apparently referring to τέλους. For the ζυτηρά cf. xlvii.

14. ἐραυνηταῖς: cf. 18, 19. These 'searchers' seem to be customs officials, the ταβου[λαρί]ῳ in 15 perhaps being their secretary.

16. εὐθε . [: perhaps εὐθεν[ίας; cf. 18.

23. τυμωλειτικίων: this strange word, which also occurred in the first column, is possibly derived from Τύμωλος which was a variant of Τμῶλος, κατὰ ποιητικὸν μετασχηματισμόν, according to Steph. Byz. τυμωλειτικίον might be the name of some product of Tmolus.

CV. Latin Military Accounts.

Kôm Ushim. 31 × 43 *cm.* About A.D. 180.

These accounts relate to sums of money on deposit belonging to a number of soldiers, who, it may be inferred from their names, were a body of auxiliaries. The *locus classicus* upon the subject of *deposita* is Vegetius, *De Re Mil.* II. 20, who tells us that half of any extra grants of money, *donatiua*, made to the soldiers was 'sequestrated,' and that each cohort had a sack (*follis*) in which these sums were placed and which was under the charge of the *signifer*. The amounts thus accredited to the soldiers were also swelled by additions from their regular pay. This fact is not there stated by Vegetius, but comes out very clearly in a Latin papyrus recently published by MM. Nicole and Morel (*Archives Militaires du Ier siècle*, Genève, 1900; cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, xxxv. pp. 443 sqq., H. Blümner, *Neue Jahrbücher f. Klass. Alt.* v. pp. 432 sqq.), which includes an account of the money affairs for a complete year of two soldiers. The expenses of each for food, clothing, &c., are deducted from their stipends and any surplus is added to their deposits. The general scheme is:— *accepit stip(endium)* . . . , *ex eis* . . . , (total) *expensas* . . . , *reliquas deposuit* . . . , *et habuit ex priore* . . . ; *fit summa omnis* . . . There was therefore for each cohort a kind of bank, in which every soldier had an account. This *peculium* was augmented in two ways, (1) by the occasional *donatiua*, half of which according to Vegetius was necessarily paid over; (2) by additions out of the surpluses of ordinary pay.

Of the present account there remains the greater part of three continuous columns and some small fragments (one containing the same names in the same order as II. 11–17, with the insertion of one name before *Apollinarius*) of a previous column. The two first of the three continuous columns give a list of payments for various special purposes, the second column having the heading *recessa depositorum*. In one case (II. 2) the whole of the *peculium* amounting to 1459 denarii seems to have been withdrawn, perhaps on account of the discharge of the soldier; in another (II. 17) 103 denarii were expended for arms. Small payments are made to two soldiers for *uiatica* (I. 14–16). But most frequently the persons drawing money are simply described as *debitores*. Apparently these men had incurred miscellaneous debts amounting to more than their periodic pay, and their liabilities were met out of their balances on deposit. The sums included under this heading range from 4 to upwards of 200 denarii.

The third column is of a different character, containing a list of soldiers and the total amount of the sums on deposit accredited to them. The first part of

the column is incomplete, but in the latter half of it between the names and the sums, which as a rule are rather large, are the letters *h*( ) *d*( ), which on the analogy of the Geneva papyrus, *recto* I *a* 31 &c. *habet in deposito*, we interpret as *h*(*abet*) *d*(*epositos*). At the end of the list is a total which is divided into three parts, the *summa depositorum*, *summa sepositorum*, and *summa uiaticorum*, together representing the balance in hand at the military 'bank.' What is the distinction between the *deposita* and the *seposita*? An explanation is suggested by the passage of Vegetius already alluded to, where the word *sepositio* occurs with reference to the 'sequestration' of the half of the *donatiuum*. '*Illud uero ab antiquis diuinitus institutum est, ut ex donatiuo quod milites consequuntur, dimidia pars sequestraretur ad signa . . . Sepositio autem ista pecuniae primum ipsis contubernalibus docetur accommoda . . .*' Further on these sums are described as *deposita*. Now the Geneva papyrus shows that the technical term for deposits consisting of surpluses of pay was *deposita*. It therefore appears possible that the word first used by Vegetius, *sepositio*, was the more correct, and that the *seposita* are the inaccessible sums derived from *donatiua*, as opposed to the *deposita* which, as we have supposed, could in certain circumstances be drawn upon by their owners. If this is correct the soldier's *peculium* on deposit was divided into two parts corresponding to the two sources from which it was derived, irregular presents and regular pay, and separate accounts were kept of each. The one remained in the charge of the *signifer* until the discharge or death of the soldier; the other could be used as a kind of current account. To what extent the expenditure of the individual soldier was regulated by official control, and whether the *depositio* of all surpluses of pay was obligatory (Mommsen, *ibid.* p. 452) or only customary, are further questions, upon which additional evidence is required.

An alternative explanation of the *seposita* might be found in the same passage of Vegetius in which it is stated that each legion had a burial fund to which everybody contributed a small amount. It is possible that certain payments of four drachmae in the Geneva papyrus represent such contributions (*op. cit.* p. 18). But on the whole the former view seems more probable. By the *uiatica* may perhaps be understood a sum allowed by the government for necessary travelling expenses. This may have been kept by the *signiferi* with the other moneys belonging to their cohorts, and payments made out of it from time to time, as recorded in I. 13–15. The *uiatica* in this case will have nothing to do with the *deposita* of the soldiers beyond the fact that the accounts concerning them were kept by the same officers. The term *uiaticum* is sometimes applied to a soldier's savings (cf. Tac. *Ann.* i. 37, Suet. *Jul.* 68, &c.) but that meaning does not seem appropriate here.

The accounts are kept in denarii, for which the ordinary symbol ∗ is used, and in obols, mostly represented by the letter *b*; in two places (III. 27, 29) *ob* seems to have been written. The Roman denarius being equated to the tetradrachm contained 28 copper obols. In the lists of payments the largest amount in the smaller coin is 27½; and the addition of the items in I. 17–24 works out correctly on the theory that the smaller coins are obols and that the denarius contained twenty-eight of them.

Concerning the date of the papyrus, the Latin cursive is of a similar type to that of the Berlin military roll of A.D. 156 (Pal. Soc. Series II. 165), and may be approximately assigned to the latter half of the second century. The date will be more accurately fixed if the Apollo[nius? strategus] of the division of Heraclides, whose name is written on the *verso* in Greek cursive, is identical with the Apollonius or the Apollotas who are known to have been strategi between A.D. 177 and 186 (xli, B. G. U. 194, 361. II). This date would very well suit both the Latin and Greek hands. But Apollonius is too common a name to allow us to regard this identification as being more than a probability.

In the left-hand margin of all three columns a large round dot has been placed opposite each of the names.

Col. I.

(denarii)]*xviiii (oboli) xxv s(emis)*
3 lines lost.
(oboli)]*v s(emis)*
3 lines lost.
(oboli)]*iiii s(emis),*
Bạ.[
Apol[l]inar(ius) [*(denarii)* . .]*v (oboli) xiiii s(emis),*
Longinus (denarii) xxv,
Dioscorus (denarii) xxv,
uiaticorum (denarii) xx[vi]i (oboli) xii s(emis).
Pasion (denarii) ii oboli xii s(emis),
Crispus (denarii) xxv.
de[bitores (denarii) ccccxvi (oboli) xvi s(emis) (quarta?).
Uictor (denarii) lvi (oboli) v s(emis) (quarta?),
Dionu[s]ius (denarii) vii (oboli) ii,
. *ṇeran(us) (denarii) xviiị (oboli) s(emis),*
Sịsois (denarii) xviii (oboli) s(emis),
Hermofi(lus) (denarii) xxv (oboli) iii,
Pasion (denarii) xxiii (oboli) xvi,

Maximus (denarii) CLXXVI *(oboli)* XVII.
. . [.] *ertes (denarii)* LXXXX[I]I.
∓ · *su[nt re]cessa (denarii)* MLXXIIII *(oboli)* XIII *(quarta?)*.

Col. II.

recessa depositorum.
Dionusius (denarii) MCCCCLVIIII.
item debitores (denarii) DCLXVI.
Capiton (denarii) [. . . .] *(oboli)* XXV[I]I *s(emis)*,
Apollos (denarii) [.]XXI *(oboli)* XII,
Pasion (denarii) [.]VII *(oboli)* XII[
Ammonius (denarii) LXXI *(oboli)* XXVII[
Protas (denarii) L[XX]VII *(oboli)* XVII *s(emis)*,
Hermaisc[us (denarii)] IIII *(oboli)* XXVII *s(emis)*,
Muntanus (denarii) LXV *(oboli)* XIII *s(emis)*,
Serenus (denarii) IIII *(oboli)* XXVII *s(emis)*,
Gemellus (denarii) IIII *(oboli)* XXVII *s(emis)*,
Serenus (denarii) LXXII *(oboli)* XX *s(emis)*,
Nefotian(us) (denarii) IIII *(oboli)* XXVII *s(emis)*,
Eponuchos (denarii) IIII *(oboli)* XXVII *s(emis)*,
Fabianus (denarii) LXI *(oboli)* XXVII *s(emis)*,
Apollinar(ius) (denarii) CLXXII *(oboli)* XXVII *s(emis)*.
2nd hand *item armorum Dionysi (denarii)* CIII.
1st hand ∓ · *sunt recessa (denarii)* IICCXXVII[I.

Col. III.

3rd hand] M LONG[I]NUS · [
Camariusis
Baibulas [
Posidonius [
Helius [
Ualerius [
Horus [
Paninutas [
Chares [
Publius [
Ammonius [
Galates [

[*An*]*tonius h*(*abet*) [*d*(*epositos*)
Argotịus h(*abet*) [*d*(*epositos*)
Neferos [*h*(*abet*) *d*(*epositos*)] (*denarios*) DC̣XỊṾ[
Alexandrus h(*abet*) *d*(*epositos*) (*denarios*) D,
Collutes ḥ(*abet*) *d*(*epositos*) (*denarios*) CCCCLXXXXVII (*obolos*) II *s*(*emis*),
Claudius ḥ(*abet*) *d*(*epositos*) (*denarios*) CCXXVIII,
Ptolemeus [*h*(*abet*)] *d*(*epositos*) (*denarios*) D,
Antonius [*h*(*abet*)] *d*(*epositos*) (*denarios*) CCCCXVII,
Rufinus [*h*(*abet*)] *d*(*epositos*) (*denarios*) D,
Longinus [*h*(*abet*)] *d*(*epositos*) (*denarios*) CCCCLII (*obolos*) XXIII,
Saluius ḥ(*abet*) *d*(*epositos*) (*denarios*) CCLXXXV (*obolos*) XXVI *s*(*emis*),
Saturninus ḥ(*abet*) *d*(*epositos*) (*denarios*) XXXVIII,
translati in alam prima *Longinus* [*h*(*abet*)] *d*(*epositos*) (*denarios*) CCLXV,
θ *Turbon ḥ*(*abet*) *d*(*epositos*) (*denarios*) CCCCLXX (*obolos*) V[I]I.
summa depositorum (*denarii*) $\overline{\text{XII}}$CXXVIIII *ob*(*oli*) X *s*(*emis*),
sepositor[*u*]*m* (*denarii*) $\overline{\text{III}}$DCXXV[I *o*]*b*(*oli*) [X]II,
uiaticorum (*denarii*) MCCCCXVI *ob*(*oli*) XX[I.
fit summa numo(*rum*) (*denarii*) $\overline{\text{XVII}}$CLXXII (*oboli*) VI *s*(*emis*).
vestiges of four obliterated lines.

On the *verso*

Ἀπολλω[νίῳ(?) στρ(ατηγῷ)] Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Ἡρακλ(είδου) μερίδος.

I. 14. The 27 denarii $12\frac{1}{2}$ obols are the totals of the items in the two following lines. Similarly line 17 gives the total of the sums contained in 18–25; cf. II. 3.

17. The resolution of the symbol after *s*(*emis*) is doubtful. It is composed of a small half-circle open at the top, with a horizontal stroke above and below.

26. The symbol at the beginning of the line presumably means 'total'; it is repeated in II. 19. The sum is 2228; the scribe should have drawn a stroke above the two first figures to indicate thousands as is done in III. 27–30. The total is obtained by the addition of the items in 2, 3, and 18.

II. 3. An amount in obols was written after the sum in denarii but was subsequently erased.

18. *armorum*: cf. Tac. *Ann.* i. 17. In the Geneva papyrus there is no instance of a payment on account of arms.

III. 25. For the marginal note cf. the Berlin military roll, II. 22–3 (Mommsen, *Ephem. Epigr.* vii. pp. 456 sqq.) *translatus ex coh*(*orte*) *i Fl*(*auia*) *Cil*(*icum*) *in* (*centuria*) *Candidi*. Either *alam primam* or *ala prima* should have been written.

26. θ in the margin opposite the name of Turbon means that he had died. This letter, which is also found on Roman gravestones, occurs with the same signification in a Latin list of soldiers in the Rainer Collection (Wessely, *Schrifttafeln zur ält. lateinischen Paläographie*, 8 I. 6). There θ is placed opposite the name, as here, and the name itself is crossed through.

CVI. Petition to the Praefect.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 15·2 × 7·3 *cm.* About A.D. 140.

A petition addressed to Gaius Avidius Heliodorus, praefect in A.D. 140–143, by Marcus Valerius Gemellus, a physician, requesting to be relieved, partly on the ground of his profession, partly on account of ill-health, from the duty imposed upon him of acting as superintendent to certain estates confiscated by the government. Above the petition are five lines written in the same hand, containing the conclusion of a report of a case tried before the same praefect, which resulted in the release of some person. It is clear that it somehow concerns the petition of Gemellus, and from the fact that Heliodorus confirms the judgement of a strategus or epistrategus, while Gemellus makes no mention of any judgement in his own favour, the fragmentary ὑπομνηματισμός is most probably a parallel adduced by Gemellus. Possibly it is referred to in the third line of his petition.

. . . .

-μ[α]τισμ[ὸν] Σεπ[. . . . . . .] . . . [. . στρατηγοῦ κεχρον[ι]σμένον [εἰς . . (ἔτος) Ἀντωνίν[ο]υ τοῦ κυρίου Φαρμοῦ[θι . . , Ἡλιόδωρος εἶπεν· "κέκρικε[ν . . . . ἀπολύσας."——

Γαίωι Ἀουιδίωι Ἡλιοδώρωι ἐ[πάρχ(ῳ) Αἰγ(ύπτου) παρὰ Μάρ(κου) Οὐαλερ[ί]ου Γεμέλλου [. . . παρὰ τὰ ἀπηγορευμένα ἀχθ[εὶς εἰς ἐπιτήρησιν γε[ν]ηματ[τ]ογραφουμ[ένων ὑπαρχόντ[ων πε]ρὶ κώμα[ς Βακχ(ιάδα) καὶ Ἡφαιστιάδα τῆς Ἡρακλ[είδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου τ[ετραετεῖ ἤδη χρόνωι ἐν τῇ χρ[είαι πονούμενος ἐξησθένησα [. . . . κύριε, ὅθεν ἀξιῶ σαὶ τὸν σω[τῆρα ἐλεῆσαί με καὶ κελεῦσαι ἤ[δη με ἀπολυθῆναι τῆς χρείας ὅπ[ως δυνηθῶ ἐμαυτὸν ἀνακτήσα[σθαι ἀπὸ τῶν καμάτων οὐδενὸ[. . . . .

τον καὶ ὁμοιωμ[. . .] ὑποτάξα[ι ὅπως
τέλεον ἀπολύονται τῶν [λειτουρ-
γιῶν οἱ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐπιστή[μην
μεταχειριζόμενοι μάλ[ι]στα [δὲ οἱ δε-
δοκιμασμένοι ὥσπερ κἀγ[ώ, ἵν'
ὦ εὐεργετημένος. διευτύ[χει.

8. First ε of απηγορευμενα corr. from η. υ over the line. 15 l. σέ. 21. l. ἀπο-λύωνται? 22. ῑατρικην Pap.

6 sqq. 'To Gaius Avidius Heliodorus, praefect, from Marcus Valerius Gemellus. Contrary to the prohibition I was made a superintendent of confiscated estates near the villages of Bacchias and Hephaestias in the division of Heraclides of the Arsinoite nome, and after labouring for a period of four years at the post, I became very weak, my lord; wherefore I entreat you my preserver to have pity on me, and order me to be released from my duties so that I may be able to recover from the effects of my labours . . ., and . . . to add instructions that complete exemption from compulsory services be granted to persons practising the profession of physician, and especially to those who have passed the examination like myself, that so I may experience your clemency. Farewell.'

1. -μ[α]τισμ[ον] is the termination of ὑπομνηματισμόν. The applicant for relief had produced a decision of a strategus (or epistrategus) whereupon the praefect's verdict was 'He has decided the case by relieving him,' i.e. a confirmation of the previous decision; cf. introd.

8. τὰ ἀπηγορευμένα: the reference may be to the ὑπομνηματισμός quoted above.

9. γε[ν]ημα[τ]ογραφουμ[ένων: cf. xxvi. 8, note.

10. κώμα[ς: here Bacchias and Hephaestias are (probably) treated as two distinct villages; cf. note on xv. 4.

CVII. Petition of Papontos.

Harît. 10·2 × 6·3 *cm.* A.D. 133.

A petition complaining of the theft of various skins and fleeces, and asking for redress. Owing to the loss of the beginning it is uncertain to whom the document was addressed. From the concluding formula it may be inferred that the official in question was the centurion rather than the στρατηγός; cf. Mitteis, *Hermes*, xxx. pp. 567 sqq. A curious title for the ἀρχέφοδος or another minor police official, ὁ τῆς κώμης ἐπιτρέχων (cf. xxiii. I. 2 ἐπιδρομὴ τῆς μητροπόλεως), occurs in lines 7–8.

. . . . . .

ι . . σκ . . . β . . [. .] .
ὑφείλαντο δέρματα

καθήκουσαν ἀναζή-
τησιν καὶ τοὺς φανέν-

αἴγεια{ν} τέσσαρα
καὶ βότεια κώδεια
τέσσαρα. ὧν χάριν
ἀξιῶι συντάξαι τῶι
τῆς κώμης ἐπιτρέ-
χοντι ποήσασθαι τὴν
τας αἰτίους ἔχιν ἐν
ἀσφαλείᾳ πρὸς τὴν δέ-
ουσαν ἐπέξοδο(ν). εὐτύχ(ει).
Παποντ(ῶς) ὡ(ς) (ἐτῶν) νε οὐλ(ὴ)
ὀφρύι δεξιᾷ.
(ἔτους) ιη Ἁδριανοῦ Καίσαρος
τοῦ κυρίου, Ἁθὺρ κη.

'... they carried off four goatskins and four fleeces. Wherefore I entreat you to give instructions to the village inspector to hold the due inquiry, and to keep the persons found guilty in a safe place that they may receive fitting punishment. Farewell. Papontos, about fifty-five years old, having a scar on his right eyebrow. The 18th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, Athur 28.'

CVIII. Petition to the Strategus.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 13·2 × 10·2 *cm.* (Fragm. *a*). About A.D. 171.

Petition addressed to Megalonymus, strategus of the divisions of Themistes and Polemo (who is known from B. G. U. 91. 1 to have held office in A.D. 170–1), by Pasion and Onesimus, two 'pig-merchants' at Arsinoë, complaining of a robbery with violence committed upon them as they were journeying home from Theadelphia. The papyrus is ịn two fragments which do not join.

(*a*) *Μεγαλωνύμῳ στρ(ατηγῷ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Θεμίστ[ο]υ καὶ Πο-*
λέμωνος μερίδων
παρὰ Πασίωνος τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου ἀπὸ
ἀμφόδου Ἑλληνίου καὶ Ὀνησ[ί]μου τοῦ
Ἀμμωνίου ἀπ[ὸ ἀμ]φ[ό]δ[ο]υ Γυμνασίου
τῶν δύο χοιρι[διε]μπόρων μητροπό-
λεως. ἐχθὲς ἥτις ἦν ιθ τοῦ [ὄ]ντος μη-
νὸς Θὼθ ἀνερχομένων ἡμῶν ἀπὸ
κώμης Θεαδελφείας Θεμίστου
μερίδος ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον ἐπῆλθαν ἡ-
μεῖν κακοῦργοί τινες ἀνὰ [μ]έσον Πολυ-
δευκίας καὶ τῆς Θεαδελφείας καὶ ἔδησαν
ἡμᾶς σὺν καὶ τῷ μαγδωλοφύλακι καὶ πλη-

γαῖς ἡμᾶς πλίσταις ἤκισαν κ[αὶ] τραυ-
ματιαῖον ἐποίησαν τὸν [Πασίω]να καὶ
εἰσάνηρα[ν ἡμ]ῶν χοιρίδι[ον] α καὶ ἐβάσ-
[ταξαν τὸν τοῦ Πασίων]ος κιτῶνα
] . ες καὶ ζω-
]ν Ὀνησίμου
]ς

. . . .

(*b*) κιτων[
κα[.]τα . [
κιτων[διὸ ἐπιδίδο-
μεν καὶ ἀ[ξιο]ῦ[μεν τόδε τὸ βιβλίδιον ἐν
καταχωρισμ[ῷ] γενέσθαι
πρὸς τὸ φανέ[ντων τῶν ἐπαιτίων μένειν
ἡμεῖν τὸν λόγ[ον πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τού-
του καὶ τοημ . [
δυνη . [.] . [
. . [

. . . .

'To Megalonymus, strategus of the divisions of Themistes and Polemo in the Arsinoite nome, from Pasion, son of Heraclides, from the Hellenion quarter, and Onesimus, son of Ammonius, from the Gymnasium quarter, both pig-merchants of the metropolis. Yesterday, which was the 19th of the present month Thoth, as we were returning from the village of Theadelphia in the division of Themistes, about dawn we were attacked halfway between Polydeucia and Theadelphia by thieves, who bound us and the guard of the watch-tower, and assaulted us with many blows, and wounded Pasion, and robbed us of a pig, and carried off Pasion's tunic . . . wherefore we present this petition and entreat you to register it, in order that when the culprits are discovered we may bring a charge against them on these counts, and . . .'

11. On the probable position of Polydeucia see p. 14.

13. μαγδωλοφύλακι: on μαγδῶλα cf. note on xxxviii. 5.

CIX. Letter of Pisais.

Kaṣr el Banât. 11·5 × 15 *cm.* Early first century.

A letter from Pisais to Heracleus asking him to pay 12 drachmae to Cleon. The writing is a clear semi-uncial, and the papyrus, which was found with

documents of Augustus' time, is certainly not later than A.D. 50 nor earlier than Augustus' reign.

Πισᾶις Ἡρακλήῳ χαίρειν. ὅταν πρὸς ἀνάνκαιν θέλῃς
παρ' ἐμοῦ χρήσασθαί τι, εὐθύς σε οὐ κρατῶι, καὶ νῦν
παρακληθεὶς τοὺς τρεῖς στατῆρες οὓς εἴρηκέ
σοι Σέλευκος δῶναί μοι ἤδη δὸς Κλέωνι, νομί-
σας ὅτι κιχρᾷς μοι αὐτούς, ἐάν σε δ(έ)ῃ τὸ εἱμάτιόν
σου θεῖναι ἐνέχυρον, ὅτι συνῆρμαι λόγον τῷ
πατρὶ καὶ λελοιπογράφηκέ με καὶ ἀποχὴν
θέλω λαβεῖν. Σέλευκος γάρ μου αὐτοὺς ὧδε
ἐκκ[έκ]ρουκε λέγων ὅτι συνέστακας ἑαυτῶι.
καὶ νῦν παρακληθεὶς νομίσας ὅτι κιχρᾷς μοι
[αὐτοὺς] μὴ κατάσχῃς Κλέωνα καὶ συνπροσ-
[γενοῦ Κ]λέωνι καὶ αἴτησον Σάραν τὰς τοῦ (δραχμὰς) ιβ.
[μὴ οὖν ἄ]λλως ποιή[σ]ῃς.
(ἔτους) κ, Πα(ῦνι) κε.

On the *verso*

Ἡρακλήωι, and parts of two red stamps.

1. l. ἀνάγκην. 3. l. στατῆρας. 4. l. δοῦναι. 12. ἀργυρίου is omitted after τοῦ.

'Pisais to Heracleus greeting. Whenever you from necessity want to borrow anything from me, I at once give in to you; and now please give to Cleon the three staters which Seleucus told you to give me, and consider that you are lending them to me, even if you have to pawn your cloak; for I have settled accounts with his (?) father, and he has allowed me to remain in arrears (?), and now I want to get a receipt. Seleucus has evaded paying the money by saying that you have made an arrangement with him (to pay instead). Now, therefore, please consider that you are lending the money to me, and don't keep Cleon waiting, but go and meet him, and ask Saras for the twelve (silver) drachmae. On no account fail to do this. The 20th (?) year, Pauni 25.'

CX. Letter from Gemellus to Epagathus.

Kaṣr el Banât. 26·9 × 10·2 *cm.* A.D. 94. Plate VI.

The following fourteen letters (cx–cxxiii) are part of a considerable find, not, unfortunately, in very good condition, from a house at Kaṣr el Banât (cf. p. 44). The greater number of these papyri relate to a single family, and consist chiefly of letters exchanged by the different members. The head

of the family was Lucius Bellenus Gemellus, by whom the bulk of the letters were written, most frequently to his son Sabinus, or to Epagathus, who was perhaps a nephew. Other members of the family who are met with are Gemella, probably a married daughter of Gemellus (cxiii. 15); Marcus Antonius (?) Maximus, his brother (cf. cxvi. 18); Harpocration and Lycus, sons (cxxiii); Geminus, perhaps a brother of Epagathus (cxxi); and some one who is familiarly styled 'the little one,' and was perhaps the son of Gemella (cxiii. 14). The house at Ḳaṣr el Banât was very likely owned by Gemellus, but not occupied by him, since the majority of the letters were addressed by him to other persons, and there are none to him from them. Probably the regular resident was Epagathus, to whom both Gemellus and Sabinus frequently write; and Sabinus seems to have passed some of his time there.

Concerning Gemellus himself, some interesting information is supplied by xcii, where it is stated that he was a discharged veteran (*ἀπολύσιμος ἀπὸ στρατείας*), and that in the year A.D. 100, when that contract was drawn up, he was sixty-seven years old. The latest letter by him that bears a date is cxviii, written in A.D. 110, when he was seventy-seven. His advanced age is reflected in his handwriting, which tends to become shaky and illegible. But it was perhaps never very good, any more than his spelling and grammar, which are peculiarly atrocious. His sons Sabinus and Harpocration show a better acquaintance with the Greek language, though they too are not above reproach. Gemellus was a considerable landowner in the Fayûm, most of his property being situated in the neighbourhood of Euhemeria. At that village he had an oil-press, which was concerned in the contract alluded to above (xcii); and there were also estates at Dionysias (cx. 16, &c.), Apias (cxii. 9, &c.), Senthis (cxi. 22, cxii. 19), Psennophris (cxviii. 19), and Psinachis (cxix. 33). If, as is most probable, the accounts in cii relate to these estates, a large number of workmen was employed upon them. Gemellus himself seems to have resided partly at Aphroditopolis, which was more probably the village of that name in the Fayûm (cf. Gr. Pap. II. lxi. 12) than the capital of the Aphroditopolite nome (cf. cxv. 16, cxx. 6); but he took a keen interest in all his farms, and his letters are for the most part occupied with agricultural details. He kept himself informed of all that went on, exercising a general supervision over the management of affairs, and does not hesitate to express disapproval when dissatisfied with the proceedings of his lieutenants (cxi. 2 sqq., cxii. 9 sqq.). The more genial side of his character is exhibited in the frequent ordering of supplies for the celebration of some festival (cxvii. 11, cxviii. 16, cxix. 28), or the birthday of some member of the family (cxiii. 14, cxiv. 20, cxv. 8). He liked to keep up friendly relations with the officials, and was evidently fully alive to

the value of occasional *bakhshîsh* (cxvii. 6–8, cxviii. 13–15). The general impression of Gemellus left by these letters is that of a shrewd old man of business, somewhat wilful and exacting, but of a kind and generous disposition.

The first letter is not in the handwriting of Gemellus himself, but was written for him by a scribe in a well-formed uncial hand of a literary type, which being dated is of importance palaeographically. Only the date at the bottom is in cursive.

Λούκιος Βελλῆνος Γέμελλος
'Επαγαθῶι τῶι ἰδίωι χαίρειν.
εὖ ποιήσεις κομισάμενός μου
τὴν [ἐ]πιστ[ο]λὴν ἀναγκάσας
ἐκχωσθῆναι τὸ ἐν αὐτῶι κόπριον
ἵνα καταβ[ο]λαῖον γένηται ὃ λέγεις
ταμε[ῖ]ον, κ[α]ὶ τὰ κύκλωι τοῦ ἐλαι-
ουργίου ἔξωθεν σκάψον ἐπὶ βάθος
ἵνα μὴ εὖ ὑπερβατὸν ἦι τὸ ἐλαι-
ουργῖον, καὶ χώρισον τὸ κόπριον
εἰς τὴν κοπρηγίαν, καὶ λιμναζέ-
τωσαν ἡμῶν τοὺς κλήρους πάν-
τας ἵ[ν]α τὰ πρόβατα ἐκεῖ κοιμηθῆι,
καὶ το[ὺ]ς ἐ[λαι]ῶνας τὸ δεύτερον
[ὕ]δω[ρ] λου[σ]άτωσαν, καὶ διάβα εἰς
Διον[υ]σιά[δα] καὶ γνῶθι εἰ πεπότισ-
ται ὁ [ἐ]λαιὼν δυσὶ ὕδασι καὶ δεδι-
[κ]ράν[ι]σται, εἰ] δέ τι μὴ ποτισθήτωι
καὶ εν[.]τε . [. .] . . ἀσφαλῶς δικρανισ-
[θ]ῆ μ[. .]κ . α . [.] αὐτοὺς διαπέσηι, καὶ
[δ]οὺς . [. . . κα]ὶ Ψέλλον τοὺ(ς) σιτολόγους
[.] . υχ . [. . καὶ] Χαιρᾶν τὸν γρ(αμματέα) τῶν
[γε]ωρ[γῶν καὶ] Ἡρακλᾶν (δραχμὰς) ϙ καὶ τόκους,
καὶ Χα[ιρᾶ]ν [τὸ]ν ποτε πράκτορα (δραχμὰς) κδ,
καὶ Διδᾶν [.]δουν τιμ(ὴν) κριθ(ῆς) (δραχμὰς) Σμ καὶ τόκ(ους),
καὶ Ἥρωνα τόν ποτε ἡγούμ(ενον) τόκ(ους) (ἐτῶν) β
(δραχμὰς) ρκ. καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐπιστησάτωσαν

οἱ τέκτονες· πέμπω δέ σοι τὰ σχοι-
νία. τὰς δὲ ὠλένας τοῦ ἐλαιουργίου
δ[ι]πλᾶς ποίησον, τὰς δὲ τῶν κα-
ταβολα[ί]ω(ν) ἁ[π]λᾶς. ἔρρωσο.
(ἔτους) ιδ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ
[Σ]εβασ[τοῦ Γερμ]ανικοῦ, μηνὸς Γερμανικοῦ
ιδ.
μὴ οὖν [ἄ]λλως ποιήσῃς.

On the *verso*

ἀπόδος Ἐπαγαθῷ ἀπὸ Λουκίου Βελλήνου Γεμέλλου.

2. *ἴδιωι* Pap.; so 6 and 9 *ἵνα*, 9 *ὑπερβατον*, 17 *ὕδασι*.

'Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his own Epagathus, greeting. On receipt of my letter please have the manure there banked up in order to make the store-place that you speak of, and dig a deep trench round the oil-press outside so that it may not be easy to walk into the oil-press, and take away the manure to the manure heap, and make them let the water in over all our fields in order that the sheep may be folded there, and have the olive-yards washed over the second time, and go over to Dionysias and find out whether the olive-yard has been watered twice over and dug; if not let it be watered . . . Give to . . . and Psellus, the keepers of the public granaries . . . and Chaeras, scribe of the cultivators, and to Heraclas 90 drachmae and the interest, and to Chaeras the late tax-collector 24 drachmae, and to Didas . . . the price of the barley, 240 drachmae and interest, and to Heron, the former president, two years' interest, 120 drachmae. Let the carpenters put up the doors; I send you the measurements. Make the hinges (?) of the oil-press double, and those of the stores single. Good-bye. The 14th year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, the 14th of the month Germanicus. Do not neglect these instructions. (Addressed) Deliver to Epagathus from Lucius Bellenus Gemellus.'

13. The sheep would presumably not be put into these fields until the water had subsided again.

21. If [δ]ούς is correct *Ψέλλον* and the other persons in the accusative should have been in the dative. The participle [δ]ούς is not unnatural, being a return to the construction of line 4.

22. *γρ(αμματέα) τῶν [γε]ωρ[γῶν*: cf. xviii (*a*) introd.

26. *ἡγούμ(ενον)* is an ambiguous title which occurs in different senses. *ἡγούμενοι* sometimes appear in the service of certain officials such as the strategus (Ox. Pap. II. 294. 19), or the comarch (? B. G. U. 270. 6). On the other hand the *ἡγούμενος συνόδου* in Gr. Pap. II. lxvii. 3 is clearly a president; so too *ἡγούμενος γερδίων*, ibid. xliii. 9, *ἡγούμενος ἱερέων*, Brit. Mus. Pap. 281. 2, &c., *ἡγούμενοι πενταφυλίας Σοκνοπαίου*, 335. 4. In the present passage there is nothing to indicate which signification is meant. The title is also used absolutely, as here, in Ox. Pap. I. 43 *recto* VI. 14, Brit. Mus. Pap. 266. 104.

33. *μηνὸς Γερμανικοῦ*: i.e. Thoth. Cf. Ox. Pap. II. 266. 2, Brit. Mus. Pap. 259. 138.

CXI. Letter from Gemellus to Epagathus.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 25·2 × 9·3. A.D. 95–6.

Λούκι[ος Βελ]λῆνος Γέμελλος
Ἐπαγα[θῶι τ]ῶι ἰδίωι χαίριν.
μένφομαί σαι μεγάλως ἀπο-
λέσας χ[υ]ρίδια δύω ἀπὸ τοῦ
σκυλμοῦ τῆς ὡδοῦ ἔχων
ἐν τῇ [κ]όμῃ ἐργατικὰ κτή-
νη δέκα. Ἡρα̣κλ̣ί̣δας ὁ̣ [ὀν]η-
λάτης τὼ αἰτίωμα περι-
επύησε λέγον ὤτι σὺ εἴρηχας
πεζῶι [τὰ χ]υρίδια ἐλάσαι.
περισ̣ὸ̣ν̣ [ἐν]ε̣τιλάμ[η]ν σ̣υ̣
εἰς Διο[νυσι]άδα μῖναι δ̣ύ̣-
ωι ἡμέρας ἕως ἀγοράσῃς
λωτίνου (ἀρτάβας) κ. λέγουσι εἶ-
ναι τὼ λώτινον ἐν τῇ Διο-
νυσιά[δι] ἐγ (δραχμῶν) ιη. ὡς ἐὰν βλέ-
πῃς [τ]ὴν τιμὴν πάν-
τος ἀγόρασον τὰς τοῦ λοτίνου
(ἀρτάβας) κ, [ἀ]νανκαιν ἡγήσα[ς.
τ̣ὸ̣ν̣ λ̣[ι]μ̣νασμ[ὸν] δ̣[ί]ο̣ξον
τῶν [ἐ]λα̣[ι]ών[ων τ]ῶν πάν-
τον [καὶ] τάξον τ̣[. .]ο̣ν Σέν-
[θεως] ἐργάτην χρ . . . .
λιμνάζειν, καὶ τὼν στί-
χον τὸν φυτὸν τῶν
ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ πότισον.
μὴ οὖν ἄλλως πυήσῃς.
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβασ[τοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ, μηνὸς Γερμανικ( )
ιε.

On the *verso*

Ἐπαγαθῶι τ]ῶι ἰδίωι
ἀπὸ Λουκίου Βελλήν]ου Γεμέλλου.

3. l. *μέμφομαί σε.* 4. l. *χ[οι]ρίδια*; so 10. 5. l. *ὁδοῦ.* 6. l. *[κ]ώμῃ.* 8. l. *περιεποίησε λέγων ὅτι.* 11. l. *περισσὸν . . . σοι.* 17. l. *πάντως.* 19. l. *ἀναγκαῖον* or *ἀνάγκην ἡγησά[μενος.* 24–5. l. *τὸν στίχον τῶν φυτῶν.* 27. l. *ποιήσῃς.*

'Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his own Epagathus, greeting. I blame you greatly for the loss of two pigs owing to the fatigue of the journey, when you had in the village ten animals fit for work. Heraclidas the donkey-driver shifted the blame from himself, saying that you had told him to drive the pigs on foot. I have already more than sufficiently enjoined you to stay at Dionysias a couple of days, till you have bought 20 artabae of lotus. They say it is to be had at Dionysias at 18 drachmae. However you find the price, be sure to buy the 20 artabae of lotus, believing it to be essential. Hasten with the flooding of all the olive-yards . . . and water the row of trees at "the prophet." Do not neglect these instructions. Good-bye. The 15th year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, the 15th of the month Germanic . . .'

3–5. *ἀπολέσαι* and *ἔχων* both refer to Epagathus, and should therefore strictly be in the accusative, unless we put a stop after *μεγάλως* and read *ἀπώλεσας* for *ἀπολέσας.*

ἔχων ἐν τῇ [κ]όμῃ κ.τ.λ.: the meaning is that Epagathus, though he had sufficient animals (donkeys or horses) available to have had the pigs carried in a cart, instead of driven on foot, had nevertheless preferred to economize in labour and so caused the loss.

11. There are traces of ink above the *ν* of *περισον* which perhaps represent the first letter of a word written over the line.

22. *Σέν θεως*: cf. cii. 12, cxii. 19.

23. *ἐργάτην*: or *ἔργα τὴν . . .*

26. *τῷ προφήτῃ*: apparently a familiar name of a piece of land.

30. *Γερμανικ( )* may be *Γερμανικ(οῦ)* (Thoth, cf. cx. 33), or *Γερμανικ(είου)* (Pachon); cf. Ox. Pap. II. 300. 11.

CXII. Letter from Gemellus to Epagathus.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 24 x 14 *cm.* A.D. 99.

Λούκιος Βελλῆνος Γέμελλος Ἐπαγαθῶι τῶι ἰδίωι χα(ίρειν). εὖ πυήσις διῶξαι τοὺς σκαφήτρους τῶν ἐλαιώνον καὶ τοὺς ὑποσχ[ει]σμοὺς καὶ διβολήτρους τῶν ἐλαιώνον, καὶ [τὰ] ἀναπαύματα ὑπόσχεισον καὶ διβόλησον, [ἐ]πιτίνας τὸν ζευγηλάτην εἶνα ἑκάσ[της] ἡμέρας τὼ ἔργον ἀποδῦ, καὶ μὴ τῦς κει[.]ασι

ἀριθμὸν ταυρικὸν κόλλα. τὼν ὤγμ[ον] τῆς Ἀπιάδος ἕως σήμερον οὐ ἐθέρ[ι]σας ἀλλ' ἠμέληκας αὐτοῦ καὶ μέχρι τούτου τὼ ἥμυσυ αὐτοῦ ἐθέρισας, ἐπέχον τῷ δακτυλιστῇ Ζωΐλωι καὶ εἶνα αὐτὸν μὴ δυσωπήσῃς· ἀθέρισ⟨τον⟩ αὐτὸν ἕως σήμερον ἄφικας· διὼ μένφομαί σαι μεγάλως. ἐπίγνοθι εἰ ἐσκάφη ὠ τῆς Διονυσιάδος ἐλαιών· εἰ μὴ δίωξον αὐτοῦ τὼν σκάφητρων ἐν δυσὶ ἡμέρα⟨ι⟩ς. συνφέρι γὰρ εν . ικκον αὐτὸν [σ]καφῆναι. μὴ σπουδασέτωσαν ἅλω ανταλομμινα καὶ τὴν Σένθεως ἕως γράψω. τὰς ἅλως οὐ πάσας θλάσον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος. μὴ οὖν ἄλλως πυήσῃς. ἔρρωσο. ἀσπάζου Ἥρωνα καὶ Ὀρσενοῦφιν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ὔκῳ πάντες. (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νερούα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Παχὸν κϛ.

On the *verso* are some traces of an address.

6. ε of ζευγ corr. from υ. 7. l. ἀποδοῖ. 8. l. ταυρικῶν . . . τὸν ὄγμ[ον]. 14. l. μέμφομαί σε. 16. l. τὸν σκάφητρον. 23. l. ἐν οἴκῳ πάντας.

'Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his own Epagathus, greeting. Please carry forward the digging of the olive-yards and their ploughing up and hoeing, and plough up and hoe the fallows, and urge the driver to do his proper work every day, and do not unite a number of bulls . . . Up to to-day you have not harvested the field at Apias, but have neglected it, and so far have only harvested the half. Give heed to the measurer (?) Zoïlus; don't look askance at him. Up to to-day you have left it unharvested, wherefore I blame you greatly. Find out whether the olive-yard at Dionysias was dug; if not, carry on the digging during two days, for it is an advantage that it should be dug . . . Do not let them be in a hurry with the . . . threshing-floor, nor that at Senthis until I write. Don't break up all the threshing-floors for the present. Do not neglect these instructions. Good-bye. Salute Heron and Orsenouphis and all those at home. The second year of the Emperor Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus, Pachon 26.'

2. *σκάφητρος* here and *διβόλητρος* and *διβολεῖν* in 4–5 are new words, but their meaning is clear.

7–8. The meaning of *κόλλα* depends upon that of the mutilated word at the end of line 7. *κέρασι* might there be read, but hardly fills the space and does not produce a satisfactory sense, unless the sentence could be supposed to mean 'tie up the bulls by the horns,' i. e. keep them idle.

11. δακτυλιστῇ: the verb δακτυλίζειν is known but only in the sense of 'point at with the finger,' which does not suit δακτυλιστής in this context.

20. οὐ: or possibly αὖ.

CXIII. Letter from Gemellus to Sabinus.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 14·4 × 12·4 *cm.* A.D. 100.

This letter and the next are almost identical in subject and phraseology, and were written within a few days of each other. Both contain directions that a man should be sent to see an olive-yard belonging to a friend called Hermonax, which required thinning. Probably Sabinus did not immediately comply, and Gemellus became impatient and wrote again. At the end of each letter is a request for fish for certain festal occasions. The date of the present papyrus is supplied by cxiv, which was the later of the two, as is shown by a comparison of cxiii. 12 with cxiv. 19.

Λούκιος Βελλῆνος Γέμελλος
Σαβίνωι τῶι οιείῶι χαίρειν.
πάντη πάντος πέμσις Πίν-
δαρον τὸν πεδιοφύλακα τῆς
Διονυσ[ιά]δος εἰ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ,
ἐπὶ Ἑρμῶναξ ἐρώτησέ με εἶνα
ἐφίδῃ τὸν [ἐ]λαιῶνα αὐτοῦ τὸν
ἐν Κερκεσούχυς ἐπὶ πυκνός
ἐστιν τῦς φυτῦς, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν
ἐκκόψαι θέλι φυτά. εὖ οὖν πυή-
σας ἐξαυτῆς πέμσις αὐτὸν
ἐξαυτῆς· καὶ τῆι ιη εἰ ιθ τῇ
πόλι πέμσις εἰκθύας (δραχμῶν) ιβ
ἐπὶ τὰ τετρακοσ{σ}τὰ τοῦ μικροῦ
[. . . . . ο]ἰ̣ε̣ί̣ου Γεμέλλης

. . . . . .

2. l. υἱῷ. 3. l. πάντη πάντως. 5. l. ἤ. 6. Ἑρμῶναξ. 8. l. Κερκεσούχοις. 9. l. τοῖς φυτοῖς . . . αὐτῶν. 12. l. ἢ ιθ. 13. l. ἰχθύας. 15. l. υἱοῦ.

'Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his son Sabinus, greeting. Be very sure to send Pindarus, the guard at Dionysias, or his father, since Hermonax has asked me to allow

him to look over his olive-yard at Kerkesucha, as it is overgrown with trees, and he wishes to cut down some of the trees. Please therefore to send him immediately. On the 18th or 19th send to the city 12 drachmas' worth of fish for the little one's four-hundredth-day festival . . .'

4. πεδιοφύλακα τῆς Διονυσ[ιά]δος: i.e. the guard of Gemellus' estate at Dionysias.

14. τοῦ μικροῦ; cf. cxvi. 11. He was probably identical with the son of Gemella mentioned in the next line. Μικρός is found as a proper name, but Gemellus does not as a rule use the article with personal names. The τετρακοστά are obscure. τετρακοστός for τετρακοσιοστός occurs in Tzetzes, *Hist.* 13. 99. A feast 400 days after the birth of the μικρός is perhaps meant.

CXIV. Letter from Gemellus to Sabinus.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 24·2 x 8·1 *cm.* A.D. 100.

This letter is almost a repetition of cxiii; cf. introduction to that papyrus.

Λούκιος Βελλῆνος Γέμελλος
Σαβίνῳι τῶι οιείῶι χαίρειν.
εὖ οὖν πυήσας κομισάμε-
νός μου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
πέμσις μυ Πίνδαρον
εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὸν πεδι-
οφύλακα τῆς Διονυσιάδο(ς),
ἐπὶ ἐρώτησέ με Ἑρμῶ-
ναξ εἶνα αὐτὸν λά-
βῃ εἰς Κερκεσοῦχα
καταμαθῖν τὸν
ἐλαιῶνα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ
πυκνός ἐστιν καὶ
θέλι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκκό-
ψαι φυτά, εἶνα ἐνπί-
ρος κοπῇ τὰ μέλλον-
τα ἐκκόπτεσθαι· καὶ
τὴν εἰκθυὶν πέμσις
τῆι κδ εἶ κε εἰς τὰ
γενέσια Γεμέλλης.
μὴ ο⟨ὖ⟩ν ληρήσῃς τὸν
ἐκτιναγμόν σου.
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) δ Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Νερούα
Τραιαν[οῦ] Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ, Χύακ
ιη.

3. l. ποιήσας. 5. l. πέμψεις μοι. 15. l. ἐμπείρως. 18. l. ἰχθύν. 19. l. ἤ.

'Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his son Sabinus, greeting. On receipt of my letter you will oblige me by sending Pindarus, the guard at Dionysias, to me at the city; for Hermonax has asked me to let him take him to Kerkesucha to look to his olive-yard, as it is overgrown and he wishes to cut down some trees, so that those which are to be cut down may be cut skilfully. Send the fish on the 24th or 25th for Gemella's birthday feast. Don't talk nonsense about your threshing. Good-bye. The fourth year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus, Choiak 18.'

22. ἐκτιναγμόν: cf. cii. 29, and note on line 1.

CXV. Letter from Gemellus to Epagathus.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 15·1 × 8·2 *cm.* A.D. 101.

. . . .

[. . . . .]θ̣α̣ι̣ . τ̣ο̣εα[. δα-
π̣ά̣ν̣η̣ς̣ [κ]αὶ [. . . . .] . . λ̣υ̣ς̣
φύλακα. ἀγόρασον ἡμῖν
δύωι συγενῆ χυρίδια
εἰς τροφὴν εἰς ὗκον
[ἐ]πὶ μέλλομον α . χ̣ο̣ .
μον χυρίδια θύειν εἰς
τὰ γενέσια Σαβίνου.
μὴ οὖν ἄλλως πυήσῃς.
ἔρρωσο. ἀσπάζου Ὀρσε-
νοῦφιν καὶ Ἥρωνα
καὶ τοὺς ἐν ὔκῳ πάντε(ς).
(ἔτους) δ Τραιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου,
μηνὸς Καισαρίου κη.
πέμσις μυ ω̣ειρι τῶι
ταυρικῶι εἰς Ἀφροδίτην
πόλιν στερῆν καὶ πλατύ,
ἐπὶ κέκοπται ὧ ἔχι ουρι
καὶ κολάζεται ὡ ζευγη-
λάτης, ἐξαυτῆς.

On the *verso*

ἀπ[ό]δος Ἐπαγαθ(ῷ)
ἀπὸ [Λ]ουκίου Βελλήνου
Γεμέλλου.

4. l. συγγενῆ χοιρίδια. 5. l. οἶκον, so 12. οἴκῳ πάντας. 6. l. μέλλομεν. 17. l. στερεόν.

'. . . Buy us two pigs of a litter to keep at the house, for we intend to sacrifice pigs on the birthday feast of Sabinus. Do not neglect these instructions. Good-bye. Salute Orsenouphis and Heron and all those at home. The fourth year of Trajan the lord, the 28th of the month Caesareus. Send to me at Aphroditopolis a strap (?) for the oxen, strong and broad, as the one they have is cut and the driver is feeling the want of it, immediately.'

6. The letters at the end of the line might be read as αγχοι, i. e. ἄγχ(ι) ὑ[μῶν, but ἄγχι is an unlikely word. The supposed χ may be two other letters cramped together, e. g. θε; the ο would then be eliminated.

15. ωειρι: in 18 spelled ουρι; the word does not appear to be known. It probably means much the same as ζυγόδεσμον; cf. cxxi. 3 sqq., where the language used is very similar to that here.

19. κολάζεται: cf. cxx. 5, ἐπὶ κ[ο]λάζωμαι αὐτῶν. The meaning of κολάζεσθαι in these two passages must be 'to be badly in want of,' literally 'to be punished for (the lack of)'; but this sense does not appear to be found elsewhere.

CXVI. Letter from Gemellus to Epagathus.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 22·3 × 6·7 *cm.* A.D. 104.

[Λούκι]ος Βελλῆνος Γέμελλος [Ἐπαγ]αθῶι τῶι ἰδίῳ χαίρειν. [εὖ οὖν] πυήσας σκέψη φάρο[υς] τριάκοντα ἢ κορα[κ]ί̣ν̣ο̣υ̣ς̣ τριάκοντα καὶ [. . . σπ]εύσας πέμσις μυ [εἰς τ]ὴν πόλιν καὶ πύησον [. . . .]τας καλοὺς τεσσαράκοντα, ἐπὶ βουλεύωμαι [εἰς π]όλιν ἀπελθῖν χάριν [τοῦ] μικροῦ καὶ χάριν ἐκί[νου] τοῦ μετυώρου ἕως πεντεκαιδεκάτης [τ]οῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς [Χύα]κ, καὶ ἂν δύνῃ ἀρ[τάβη]ν ἐλᾶς πέμσαι α- [. . . . .] πέμπις εἶνα τῶι [ἀδελ]φῶι πέμσομον. μὴ [οὖν ἄ]λλως πυήσῃς. αἰὰν [ἀπο]χωρῶι πέμσωι πρὸς [σὲ εἶ]να σε ἀσπάσωμαι. [ἔρρ]ωσο. (ἔτους) η Τραιανοῦ [Καίσ]αρος τοῦ κυρίου, Χύακ ς.

9. l. βουλεύομαι. 12. l. μετεώρου. 18. l. πέμψωμεν. 19. l. ἐάν.

'Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his own Epagathus, greeting. Please look out 30 . . . or 30 perch and send them with all speed to me at the city, and make 40 good . . ., as I am intending to go to the city on account of the little one and on account of that incompleted deed until the 15th of the present month Choiak. If you are able to send as well an artaba of olives, do so, in order that we may send them to my brother. Do not neglect my instructions. If I leave I will send to you to greet you. Good-bye. The eighth year of Trajanus Caesar the lord, Choiak 6.'

3. φάρους: some kind of fish, if κορα[κ]ίνους is right in the next line, but the reading there is doubtful. Possibly one letter is lost before ρ at the beginning of 4.

8. [θιώ]τας? cf. cxvii. 10.

11. [τοῦ] μικροῦ: cf. cxiii. 14, note.

12. μετυώρου: cf. Ox. Pap. II. 238, introd. Mitteis (*Archiv* I. pp. 193–4) is probably right in considering that μετέωρος as applied to contracts means that the parties had announced the proposed contract at the δημοσία βιβλιοθήκη, and though leave had been granted (cf. Ox. Pap. II. 237 Col. VIII. 37 sqq.) had not yet proceeded with the transaction.

18. [ἀδελ]φῶι: probably Marcus Antonius Maximus, who is addressed as 'brother' by Gemellus in a fragmentary letter (cclii).

CXVII. Letter from Gemellus to Sabinus.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 23 × 11·6 *cm.* A.D. 108.

An interesting feature in this letter, which is obscure in parts and includes several unknown words, is that it shows that if the strategus was unable through absence or other cause to perform his duties, the deputy (διαδεχόμενος τὴν στρατηγίαν) was appointed by the praefect. Probably the royal scribe, who as a rule appears as the διαδεχόμενος τὴν στρατηγίαν, had a kind of first claim. But with the praefect rested the confirmation of the appointment.

Λούκιος Βελλῆνος Γέμελλος
Σαβίνωι τῶι νειῶι χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παν-
τὸς εὖ ⟨ἔ⟩χειν. γείνοσκαι Ἐλουραν τὸν
βασιλεικὸν διαδέχεσθαι τὴν στρατη-
γείαν Ἐράσου ἐκ ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ κρα-
τείστου ἡγεμόνος. αἰάν συ δώξῃ πέμ-
σαι αὐτῷ ἐλᾶς (ἀρτάβην) α καὶ εἰκθύδιν ἐπὶ
χρίαν αὐτοῦ ἔχωμον. πέμσις ἡμῖν
εἰς ὗκον ạṭυμaṿια καὶ ἐλᾶν, ἐπὶ οὐ
ἔχουσι ἐλᾶν νέαν εἰς ὗκον. τοὺς θιώ-
τας πέμσις ἐπὶ Ἔρạσ̣ọ[ς] τὰ Ἀρποχράτια
ὧδε τάχα ιδ πυ̣[ήσ]ι, καὶ τὰ βάκα-
να πέμ[σ]ον αὐ[τ]ῷι. πάντα τὰ κτή-
νη γεμίζι̣ βάκανον̣ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ πέμσομον
αὐτῶι βακάνου̣ . [. . .]α̣ πέντε καὶ εἰ-
ς ὗκον τῷ ạὐτ̣ό̣ν̣. γείνοσκαι εἰλη-
φαίναι . . [.]σσιον τῷ τρισελλον Ἐρά-
σου (δραχμῶν) τ, καὶ [. .][. .]ṿ αὐτοῦ πεπύηται.
διὸ γράφο συ εἴν[α .] . [.]ης τοὺς ἵππους
οὓς λαβὸν ạλλ̣άσ̣σου εἴν' αὐτοὺς
λαμβάνῃ. ẹκτίṿαξ̣ọṿ τὸ διειρον εἶνα
ἀμέριμνος ῇ̣ς̣. ῷ̣ ἔγραφός μυ
μὴ ἡσυχάσαι ṭῷ κτιστῷ περι-
τὸν γέγρ̣α̣π̣τ̣α̣[ι, κα]ὶ γράφις μυ λεί⟨α⟩ν
ὥτι εὐχαρί[σ]τῶ τῇ κόμῃ ὥτε

τέσσαρες [στ]α[τ]ῆρας καθ' ὑμῶν
γεγραφήκασι. ἐρρῶσθαί σαι εὔχομαι
εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον. (ἔτους) ια Τραιανοῦ
Καίσαρος το[ῦ κ]υρίου, [Τ]ῦβι ιθ.

On the *verso*

ἀπόδ(ος) Σαβίνωι [τῷ] οιείῶ π(αρὰ) Λουκίου
Βελλήνου Γεμέλλου.

3. l. γείνωσκε; so 16. ο in ελουραν corr. 5. l. ἐξ επιστολῆς. 7. l. ἰχθύδιον. 8. l. ἔχομεν. 9. l. εἰς οἶκον; so 10, 16. 14. l. γέμιζε. 20. l. λαβών. 22. l. ἔγραφές μοι. 23. l. περιττόν.

'Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his son Sabinus, greeting and continual good health. You must know that Elouras the royal scribe is become deputy for the strategus Erasus, in accordance with a letter of his highness the praefect. If you think it well, send him an artaba of olives and some fish, as we want to make use of him. Send us for the house some . . . and olives, for they have no fresh olives at the house. Send the . . . since Erasus is going to celebrate the festival of Harpocrates so soon on the 14th, and send him the cabbages(?). Load all the animals with cabbage and we will send him five . . . of cabbage and as much to the house . . . What you write to me about not neglecting the building you have said more than enough, and you write too often "I am thanking the village," when they have charged you with four staters. I pray for your perpetual good health. The 11th year of Trajanus Caesar the lord, Tubi 19. (Addressed) Deliver to Sabinus my son from Lucius Bellenus Gemellus.'

6. ἡγεμόνος: probably C. Sulpicius Similis, who became praefect about this time.

10. θιώτας: some form of food, perhaps cakes or loaves, as they had to be 'made.'

12. βάκανον is said to mean cabbage-seed; here however it apparently signifies the vegetable itself.

25. ὥτε . . . γεγραφήκασι: perhaps this too is a quotation from Sabinus' letter, in which case ὥτε is probably meant for ὅτι.

27. ἐρρῶσθαί σαι εὔχομαι: this is an early example of the use of this formula, which is not often found before the third century; but its occasional occurrence at a much earlier period renders it an unsafe criterion of the date of letters.

CXVIII. Letter of Gemellus.

Kaṣr el Banât. 22·4 × 13·5 *cm.* A.D. 110.

Letter from Gemellus probably to Epagathus, but the upper part is badly mutilated and the name is uncertain. Our text begins where the papyrus first becomes intelligible.

. . . .

πορεύου εἰς Διονυσιάδα πρὸς τὸν Ψιαθᾶν τὸν κατασπορέα ἕως τὸν ἐκῖ ἐλαιῶνα ποτίσῃς, καὶ ἀγόρασον ἡμῖν εἰς ἀποστωλὴν τῦς Εἰσίοις οἷς ἔχομον συνήθιαν πέμπιν, μάλιστα τῦς στρατηγοῖς. πρῶ δύο ἡμερῶν ἀγόρασον τὰ ὀρνιθάρια τῆς εἱορτῆς καὶ πέμσις αὐτὰ καὶ τοὺς λυποὺς πέμσις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντος τοὺς σάκκους, ἐπὶ κοπρηγεῖν μέλλι τὰ κτήνη εἰς Ψεννῶιφριν, ἔχοντος βελενκώθια καὶ σηστρίδια ὠσ̣ὶ̣ εἰς ξυλαμήν. βάλλω̣ι ἓξ ἀρούρας εἰς τὴν Ψεννῶφριν. ἐὰν ἀναβαίνῃ τὰ κτήνη γέμ̣[ι]σ̣ον αὐτὰ βάκανον καὶ ξύλον. μὴ οὖν [ἄ]λλος πυήσῃς. ἔ̣χ' ἐκ̣ῖ ἕ[ως] ποτίσῃς τῶ ἑπτάρουρον τοῦ ἐλαιῶνο[ς]. ἀσπάζου τοὺς φιλοῦντές σε πάντες πρὸς ἀλήθιαν. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιδ Τρα[ι]ανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Ἀθὺρ ι.

13. l. τοῖς. 15. l. τοῖς. οι of στρατηγοις corr. from υ. 17. l. λοιπούς. 18. l. ἔχοντας; so 20. 26. l. φιλοῦντάς σε πάντας.

'. . . Go to Dionysias to Psiathas the sower until you have watered the olive-yard there, and buy us some presents for the Isis festival for the persons we are accustomed to send them to, especially the strategi. Buy the birds for the feast two days beforehand and send them; send also the rest of the men to the city bringing the sacks, for the animals are to carry manure at Psennophris; let them bring the baskets and sieves as they would for mowing. I am manuring six arourae at Psennophris. If the animals come load them with cabbage and wood. Do not neglect these instructions. Stay there until you have watered the seven-acre at the olive-yard. Salute all who love you truly. Good-bye. The 14th year of Trajanus Caesar the lord, Athur 10.'

19. κοπρηγεῖν: cf. cxix. 33, note.

20. βελενκώθια is an unknown word.

21. ὠσί: or ὥστ(ε).

23. βάκανον: cf. cxvii. 12, note.

24. ἔχ': the first letter may be σ. The supposed κ of ἐκῖ and ε of ἕως are very doubtful, being more like θ and α, but cf. 12.

CXIX. Letter from Gemellus to Sabinus.

Kasr el Banât. 26·3 × 10·5 *cm*. About A.D. 100.

Λούκιος Βελλ[ῆ]νος Γέμελλος
[Σα]βίνωι τῷ υ[ἱ]ῶι χαίρειν.
ἠγόρακαι Αὐνῆς ὠ ὀνηλάτης
χόρτου 𐅵 δύσμην σαπρὰν
ἐγ (δραχμῶν) ιβ καὶ μικρὰν δύσμην
καὶ χόρτον σαπρὸν καὶ ὅλον
λελιμένου ὡς σκύβαλον.
Σαβῖνος τὸν Ψέλλον τὸν
ἀπὸ Ψινάχεος τὸν μετὲ σοῦ
εἰς πόλιν ἤνενκαι ἐπιστο-
λὴν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος πρὸς Διονύ-
σιν τὸν στρατηγὸν διακοῦσαι
αὐτοῦ τ̣. . . . μ̣α̣ι̣ς̣ες βίαν μου
αὐτα π[. .]ο̣υ̣τ̣ω̣σ̣τι ἕως γρά-
ψῃ τὸν τ̣ρ̣μ̣[. . .] . ε̣υρον τοῦ χόρ-
του ἐπὶ σ̣π̣οράν̣. [τ]ὴν διαγραφὴν
τοῦ χόρτου ποῦ τέθικας
καὶ τὼ δάνιον αὐτοῦ τ̣ῆ̣ς̣
μνᾶς ἥ ἐστι γραφή; πέμσις
τὼ κλιδῖν καὶ σήμανόν μυ
ποῦ [κ]ῖται εἵνα αὐτὰ προέλωι
εἵνα εἰδῶν μέλλω πρὸς αὐτὸν
λογεῦ ἔχο αὐτά. μὴ οὖν ἄλλος
πυήσῃς. ἐπιμέλου σατοῦ.
ἀσπάζου Ἐπαγαθὸν καὶ
τοὺς φιλοῦντες ἡμᾶς πρὸς
ἀλήθιαν. ἔρρωσο. Χοίακ ιβ.
εἰς τὰ Σατορνάλια πέμ-
σις ἀλέκτορας δέκα ἀγορᾶς
καὶ εἰς τὰ γενέσια Γεμέλλ[ης
πέμψις ὀψάρ[ι]α̣ καὶ . . . . . .
καὶ ἄρτον (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) α.

In the left margin, at right angles

πέμσις τὰ κτήνη κοπρηγεῖν εἰς τὸ λάχανον τῆς Ψινάχεως καὶ
τὰ κοπρηγά, ἐπὶ κράζει Πᾶσις
εἵνα μὴ εἰς ψωμὶν γένηται διὰ τὼ ὕδωρ, καὶ χόρτον αὐτοῦ
ἐνενκάτωσαν. εὐθέος πέμσις τὰ
(at right angles) *κτήνη.*

On the *verso*

ἀπόδ(ος) Σαβίνωι τῷ υἱε[ῷ] π(αρὰ) Λο[υκίου
Βε[λ]λήνου Γεμέ[λλ]ου.

3. l. ἠγόρακε. 4, 5. l. δέσμην. 6. ρ of χορτον corr. from ν. l. ὅλον. 8. l. Σαβῖνος ὁ Ψέλλου κ.τ.λ. 10. l. ἤνεγκε. 20. κλιδίν: for κλειδίον; cf. 34, ψωμίν. 26. l. φιλοῦντας.

'Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his son Sabinus, greeting. Aunes the donkey-driver has bought a rotten bundle of hay at 12 drachmae, a little bundle and rotten hay, the whole of it decayed—no better than dung. Sabinus, son of Psellus, of Psinachis, who is with you brought to the city a letter of the praefect to Dionysius the strategus telling him to hear . . . Where did you put the notice of payment for the hay, and the contract for his loan of a mina? Send the key and let me know where they lie, so that I may get them out in order to have them if I am about to settle accounts with him. Do not neglect these instructions. Take care of yourself. Greet Epagathus and those who love us truly. Good-bye. Choiak 12. Send ten cocks from the market for the Saturnalia, and for Gemella's birthday feast send some delicacies and . . . and an artaba of wheaten bread. Send the animals to carry manure at the vegetable-ground at Psinachis and the manure-carts, for Pasis is crying out that we must not allow it to be dissolved by the water, and let them fetch his hay. Send the animals at once. (Addressed) Deliver to Sabinus my son from Lucius Bellenus Gemellus.'

4. The symbol after *χόρτου* resembles that usually signifying *ἄρουρα*, but this is hardly in place here unless *χόρτου (ἀρούρας)* means 'field-hay.'

23. *λογεῖν* is a verb peculiar to Gemellus, unless it is merely a mistake for *λέγειν*.

33. *κοπρηγά*: *κοπρηγός* occurs in Brit. Mus. Pap. 317. 8 (*πλοίου κοπρηγοῦ*); the verb *κοπρηγεῖν* is apparently new.

CXX. Letter from Gemellus to Epagathus.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 10·8 × 9·5 *cm.* About A.D. 100.

Λούκιος Βελλῆνος Γέμελλ[ος
Ἐπαγαθῶι [τ]ῶι [ἰδίω]ι χ[αίρειν.
εὖ πυήσις π[έ]μσ[ις] μυ θρ[ί-
νακες δύωι καὶ λικμητρί-
δες δύωι καὶ πτύ(ο)ν ἕν, ἐπὶ κ[ο-
λάζωμαι αὐτῶν εἰς Ἀφρο-

δίτην πόλιν, καὶ θέρισον τὸν
ὦ[γ]μον τῆς Ἀπιάδος καὶ λύ-
σις εὐθέω(ς) εἰς Ἀ . [. .] τὰ δράγμα-
τα, καὶ τοὺς ἐλαιῶνος τοὺς
ἐν τῇ Ἀπιάδι σκάψον. αἰὰν
[. . . . . τ]ῷ ταυρικὸν ἐκ τοῦ
[. . . . .]χ . . ζον πέμ-
[σις . . . . .

3. l. θρ[ί]νακας. 4. l. λικμητρίδας. 5. l. κ[ο]λάζομαι. 8. l. ὄ[γ]μον. 10. l. ἐλαιῶνας.

'Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his own Epagathus, greeting. Please send me two forks and two shovels and a winnowing-fan, as I am feeling the want of them at Aphroditopolis. Reap the field at Apias and let the sheaves go off immediately to A . . ., and dig the olive-yards at Apias. . . .'

5. κ[ο]λάζωμαι: cf. cxv. 19, note.

CXXI. Letter from Sabinus to Geminus.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 21·3 × 7·5 *cm.* About A.D. 100.

This letter and the next were written by Sabinus, the son of Gemellus, cxxi to Geminus, cxxii to Epagathus. Since Sabinus addresses them both in the same way (τῷ ἰδίῳ) his relationship was perhaps the same to them both.

Βελλῆνος Σαβῖνος Γεμεί-
νωι τῶι ἰδίωι χαίρειν.
εὖ ποιήσεις δοὺς Οὐηστεί-
νωι εἰς τὸν ζυγὸν αὐ-
τοῦ ζυγόδεσμον και-
νὸν στερεόν, ὃ καὶ ἀλεί-
ψεις ἐπιμελῶς, ἐκ τῶν
ἐν τῆι κειβωτῶι τῶν ἀ-
σκῶν ἧι ἔχεις παρὰ σοί,
ὅπως ἀνερχόμενος ἀ[πε-
νέγκῃ αὐτὸ ἐπεὶ [τὸ αὐ-
τοῦ κέκοπται. καὶ τὸ δ[έρ-
μα τοῦ μόσχου οὗ ἐθύ-
[σ]αμεν αἴτησον πα[ρὰ τοῦ
κυρτοῦ βυρσέως. [ἔρρωσο.
ἐδόθη Παῦνι ϛ.

2. ἰδιωι Pap. 6. ὅ Pap. 10. ὅπωι Pap.

'Bellenus Sabinus to his own Geminus greeting. Kindly give Vestinus for his yoke a new strong yoke-band, which you will carefully grease, from those in the box of skins which you have with you, so that he may bring it with him when he returns; for his own is cut. Ask the hunch-backed tanner for the hide of the calf that we sacrificed. Good-bye. Posted Pauni 6.'

CXXII. Letter from Sabinus to Epagathus.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 23·7 × 7·7 *cm*. About A.D. 100.

Βελλιῆνος Σαβῖνος Ἐπαγαθῶι τῶι
ἰδίωι χαίρειν.
εὖ ποιήσεις μεταβαλόμενος τὸ πα-
ρὰ σοὶ σί[ν]απι τὸ ἐν τῶι θησαυρῶι Σο-
χώτου τῶι κομίζοντί σοι τὸ ἐπι-
στόλιον καὶ ἐά[σ]ας αὐτὸν βαστά-
ξαι ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι ὀκτώ, τὰς δὲ
λοιπὰς ὑπὸ τὴν ἀμφοτέρ[ω]ν σφρα-
γεῖδα ἐάσας ἕως ἀπολαβὼν τὸ λοι-
πὸν τῆς τιμ[ῆ]ς πάλιν σοι γράψω,
ἐάσας αὐτὸν βαστάξαι, μέτρῳ
δὲ τετραχο[ι]νίκωι τὸ σίναπι μέ-
τρησον ελ̣[. . .] . . ὑπογραφὴν αε̣-
φυτοσι̣, κ̣[α]ὶ δήλωσόν μοι πόσαι
ἐξέβησ[αν] ἵνα εἰδῶ. ἔπεμψά σοι
ὑποδείγματα̣ μ̣ε̣γάλων τεσσαρά-
κοντα εἰς [τ]ὴν μηχανὴν τῆς
Χαλ̣ώθεως. ἀπ̣αναγκάσεις Σισό-
ιν τὸν τ[έκ]τ̣ο̣ν̣α̣ ἀποτῖσαι
καὶ πέμψεις ε̣[ἰ]ς Χαλ̣ῶ̣θιν ἐάν τι-
να εὕρῃς κ̣α̣τ̣ὰ̣ παρό[ντας] ἔχοντα
πείστην πολλ̣ή̣ν̣, πέμψεις δὲ τὰ πρὸς
τὴν ρο̣ . . . [. πρὸ ἡ]μερῶν τριῶν
[.]ε̣σ̣ . [. . . . .] ἐγ̣ (δραχμῶν) η.
ἔρρωσο.
ἐδόθη Φαμενὼθ ϛ.

1. l. Βελλῆνος. 2. ἰδιωι Pap. 8. ῦπο Pap.; so 13 ῦπογραφην, 16 ῦποδειγματα. 18. σισοῖν Pap. 22. l. πίστιν.

'Bellenus Sabinus to his own Epagathus, greeting. Please transfer the mustard that is with you in the store of Sochotes to the bearer of this letter, allowing him to carry off 28 artabae and leaving the rest under the seals of you both, until I get the

remainder of the price and write to you again. Let him carry it off, and measure the mustard with the four-choenix measure . . . and inform me how many artabae came out so that I may know. I send you forty specimens of the large sort for the machine of Chalothis. Make Sisois the carpenter pay up, and send to Chalothis if you find any one quite trustworthy among those with you. Send also . . . three days beforehand . . . at the price of 8 drachmae. Good-bye. Posted Phamenoth 6.'

13–14. There is not room for σίν[απ]ι in 14, even if the vestiges suited, which they do not. σίναπι however was perhaps intended; ἃ ἔφυ τὸ σί⟨ναπι⟩ is a conceivable reading.

CXXIII. Letter from Harpocration to Sabinus.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 20·5 x 6·1 *cm.* About A.D. 100.

The following letter is addressed to Sabinus, the son of Gemellus, by a brother named Harpocration, of whom we have not before heard. The most interesting point in it is a mention of a Jew called Teuphilus (Theophilus), who had apparently been chosen as a cultivator of the domain-lands, and wished to be released from this service; cf. note on line 17.

Ἁρποκρατίων Βελλήνωι
Σαβείνωι τῶι ἀ-
δελφῶι χα(ίρειν). καὶ ἐκ-
θές σοι ἔγραψα διὰ
Μάρδωνος τοῦ σοῦ γ-
νῶναί σε θέλων ὅ-
τι διὰ τὸ ἐπηρεᾶσθαι
οὐκ ἠδυνήθην κατελ-
θεῖν, καὶ ὡς ἔχωι
ὧδε ἡμέρας ὀλίγας
ἐὰν δοκῇ σοι πέμψαι
τὸ ἀποχοον Ἰσᾶτος καὶ
παραλάβωμεν τὸ ἐλάδιο-
ν λυπὸν ἐὰν δόξῃ σοι.
ἐλήλυθεν γὰρ Τεύφι-
λος Ἰουδαῖος λέγων
[ὅ]τι ἤχθην ἰς γεωργίαν
καὶ βούλομαι πρὸς Σαβεῖ-
νον ἀπε̣λ̣θ̣ε̣ῖ̣[ν]. οὔτε γὰρ εἴ-
ρηχε ἡμ[ῖ]ν ἀγόμενος
ἵνα ἀπολυθῇ, ἀλλὰ αἰ-
φνιδί[[.]]ως εἴρηχεν ἡμῖν
σήμε̣ρον. γνώσομαι γὰρ̣
εἰ ἀληθῶς λέγι.
ἔρρωσσο. ἀσπάζου
τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς Λύκον
κα̣[ὶ . . . . . .]ν̣.
[Με]χ̣ε̣ὶ̣ρ̣ ι̣β̣.

On the *verso* *ἀπ[ό]δος* ✕ *Βελλήνῳ*
Σαβείνωι

12. Ἴσατος Pap. 14. l. λοιπόν.

'Harpocration to his brother Bellenus Sabinus, greeting. I wrote to you yesterday too by your servant Mardon, desiring you to know that owing to having been molested I was unable to come down, and as I am staying here a few days, if you think fit send the receipt (?) of Isas, and let us get from him the rest of the oil, if you agree. Teuphilus the Jew has come saying, "I have been pressed in as a cultivator, and I want to go to Sabinus." He did not ask me to be released at the time that he was impressed, but has suddenly told me to-day. I will find out whether he is speaking the truth. Good-bye. Salute my brothers Lycus and . . . Mecheir 12. (Addressed) Deliver to Bellenus Sabinus.'

12. *ἀποχοον*: perhaps *ἄποχον=ἀποχήν* is intended; or it may be the same as the *ἀπόχυμα* in XCV. 25.

17. *ἤχθην ἰς γεωργίαν*: this probably means that he had been obliged to become a *δημόσιος γεωργός*. Cp. Brit. Mus. Pap. 445. 4–5 *γεωργοῦ τινων ἐδαφῶν . . . καὶ ἀπολυσίμου τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας*, from which Wilcken (*Archiv*, I. p. 154) infers that the leasing of the royal domains was not purely voluntary but a kind of *λειτουργία*. The present passage (cf. also *ἀπολυθῶ* in 21 with *ἀπολυσίμου* in the Brit. Mus. papyrus) supports this conclusion, which is maintained by Mitteis in his lecture *Aus den gr. Papyrusurkunden*, p. 32. We are however not quite convinced that the document on which chief stress is laid, Brit. Mus. Pap. 322, is so conclusive as is there supposed. That papyrus consists of a list, drawn up by the village-scribe of Socnopaei Nesus, of persons who each paid one artaba of wheat, and is headed *κατ' ἄνδρα πρὸς ἀπαίτησιν φορέτρου ἀποτάκτου τῶν μετατιθεμένων ἐνθάδε ἀπὸ κώ(μης) Βακχ(ιάδος)*. But there is no direct reference to *γεωργοί* of any kind, nor is there anything to show whether *τῶν μετατιθεμένων* are persons or things. That the government should have insisted that cultivators of the domains should be forthcoming and made the districts in which they were situated responsible, is intelligible enough. But that these cultivators should have been reduced to a state of serfdom and transported at the pleasure of the authorities from one place to another is a very different matter, and a point which we think not yet proven.

18. Teuphilus seems to have thought that Sabinus could procure his release, though how this was possible does not appear.

CXXIV. Letter from Theogiton to Apollonius.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 16·2 × 9·4 *cm.* Second century A. D.

This letter was found with the Gemellus papyri, but the persons concerned were not so far as we know members of the family. The letter is a strong remonstrance addressed by a relative or friend to a man who was defrauding his mother of some allowance (*χορηγία*), and threatens prosecution if this conduct was persisted in.

[Θ]εογί[των 'Απ]ολλωνίω̣ [χαίρ]ε̣[ι]ν.

[π]άλειν̣ [. . . . . .] γράφιν σοι . . [.]μαι φ[. . . . . τῶ]ν̣ ἔργω̣ν̣ σ̣[ου] . ι̣σ̣ . . σ̣[.] μὴ ε̣ἰθισμένου μου̣ τοῖς [γ]ρ[άμ]μασι, καὶ νῦν οὖν πάλειν ἐπιράθην γράφιν σ[ο]ι πρὶν ἤ τι περαιότερ[ο]ν ἐνχι-ρήσω πο[ι]εῖν, ἐάνπερ μὴ εὐ-[γ]νομωνῇς τὰ πρὸς τὴν μη-τέρα. πάνυ γάρ μοι δοκεῖς ἄφρων τις εἶ[ν]αι τοῦ̣ ὄντος μη-ν[ὸ]ς̣ μὴ φυλάσσ[ι]ν [[τρ]] σου τὴν δ̣ε-ξ̣ιάν, ε̣ἴπερ εἰ καὶ γράμματα̣ μ̣ὴ ἦν ἀλλὰ τοῖ[ς] θ̣[εο]ῖ[ς] ἐ̣σ̣τ̣[ι]ν̣ χ̣άρις ὅτι οὐδεμία ἐστὶν πρό-ληµψις ἡμεῖν γεγενημένη εἶνα δόξῃς ἄνευ ν̣ομίμων ἡμᾶς ἀποθεῖσθαι. καὶ νῦν [ο]ὖν εἰ μὴ πίθῃ καὶ τὴν χορηγί-αν τῇ μητρὶ εὐγνομώνως ἀποδίδυς τὸ ἀκόλουθον τού-των ἔσται καὶ μετάμελόν σ[ο]ι πάλειν εἰσο[ίσ]ει ἡ πλεονε-ξ[ί]α σου. μὴ γὰρ ὑπολάβῃς τ[ὴ]ν μητέραν σου περὶ τούτων [τ]ρέμ̣ειν. ἔρ[ρ]ωσσω.

3. l. [π]άλιν: so 7 and 24. 9. l. εὐγνωμονῇς; cf. 21. 19. l. ἀπωθεῖσθαι. 22. l. ἀποδίδοις. 27. l. ἔρρωσο.

'Theogiton to Apollonius, greeting. (Again your deeds compel me to write to you) although I am unaccustomed to writing, and so now again I attempt to write to you before taking further steps—unless you are fair in your conduct towards your mother. Indeed you appear to me to be quite mad this month in not keeping your pledge, since even if there were no documents, still, thank heaven, there is no preconceived principle on our part that should make you suppose that we shall be illegally ousted. Therefore if you do not comply and pay your mother her allowance in a fair manner, the consequences of your behaviour will follow and your cupidity will again cause you regret. Do not suppose that your mother has any alarm about this course. Good-bye.'

CXXV. Letter of a Chief Priest.

Kaṣr el Banât. 14·7 × 13·3 *cm.* Second century.

Letter from Ptolemaeus, ἀρχιερεύς, to his brother Heron, urging him to use all his efforts to become successful in an election to some office, perhaps that of strategus. The last part of the letter, which has reference to some allowance that would be made by the writer to his brother in connexion with an ἔμβλημα, is obscure.

Πτολεμαῖος Ἥρωνι τῶι φιλτάτῳ
χαίρειν.
καλῶς [ποιή]σεις, ἀδελφέ, μὴ ἀ-
μελήσας τ[ο]ῦ κλήρου τοῦ στρατη-
γικοῦ, ἀλλ[ὰ] ὡς ἔθος ἐστί σοι ἀντι-
λαβὼν ἣν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις
καὶ δύνασα[ι] τὸν μερισμὸν τῆς
Φιλ[ο]π̣ά̣[το]ρος ἔχειν. ἐὰν δὲ δέ-
ῃ [. . . . .] τὸ ἔμβλημα τὸ δαπα-
νηθ[ὲν] παραδέξομαι, εὔχο-
μαι [γὰρ] μείζονος ἀξίας γενέσ-
θαι [ἀφ' ο]ὗ ἀπολαύομεν τῶν
δώ[ρων].
[ἐρρῶσθαί σε] εὔχο(μαι) φίλ(τατε).

On the *verso*

παρὰ Πτολε]μαίου ἀρχιερέως.

'Ptolemaeus to his dearest Heron, greeting. You will do well, brother, not to neglect the ballot for strategus, but, as is your custom, using all the influence you have and can get (?), take care to secure the share of Philopator. If it is necessary to . . . the lading (?), I will make an allowance for the expense, for I hope to be better off now that we are enjoying presents (?) My best wishes for your health, dearest.'

4. κλήρου τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ: this phrase would naturally mean the election by lot of a strategus, rather than an election by lot (for some other office) held by the strategus. About the method of choosing strategi we are ignorant, but as might be expected, the praefect was ultimately responsible; see C. I. G. 4957. 34–5, and cf. introd. to cxvii. If however Heron was standing for the office of strategus the reference to the μερισμὸν τῆς Φιλοπάτορος is very obscure. Philopator must be the village of that name, while μερισμὸς would naturally mean the 'share' of the taxes, and the remark would be more intelligible if Heron was trying to become πράκτωρ or to get some such post. The strategi had to appoint to many of the λειτουργίαι (Ox. Pap. I. 81) but the choice of πράκτορες rested ultimately with the epistrategus; cf. B. G. U. 194. 23.

6–8. An alternative construction to that proposed in our translation would be to place a comma after ἔχεις and connect ἔχειν with δύνασαι.

9. The ἔμβλημα would seem to have some relation to the ἐμβολή, or embarkation of grain, rather than to be a present of a work of art which Heron had to make in connexion with his candidature.

11–13. The restoration and meaning of these lines are extremely doubtful.

CXXVI. Letter to a Father.

Wadfa. 11·5 × 7·5 *cm*. Second or third century.

Letter of Dioxenus to his father Sarapion, asking him to return home in order to attend to the fixing of boundaries of a piece of land. The handwriting is a small uncial.

Διόξενος Σαραπίωνι τῷ πα-
τρὶ χαίριν. περ[ι]πατοῦντός μου
σὺν τῷ πατρὶ ἤκουσα φίλου τοῦ
πατρός μου λαλοῦντος περὶ σοῦ ὅτι
⟨ἔ⟩πεμψεν ἐπὶ τὴν πενθερά⟨ν⟩ σου χά-
ριν τοῦ κτήματος ἐπὶ μέλ⟨λ⟩ι ὁρί-
ζεσθαι. ἄνελθε οὖν ταχέως ὅτι
ἐπίγι. ἀσπάζομ[α]ι Θερμουθᾶν καὶ
Ἰσίδωρον καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ
Ἑλένην καὶ Τεψό[ι]ν καὶ τὸ ἀβάσκαντον
αὐτῆς παιδίον κα[ὶ] πάντας τοὺς ἐνύ-
κους. ἔρρωσο. Π[α]οῖνι λ.

On the *verso*

ἀπὸ Διοξένου ἀπό- X -δος Σαραπ⟨ί⟩ωνι.

9. ϊσιδωρον Pap. 11. l. ἐνοίκους. 12. l. Παῦνι.

'Dioxenus to Sarapion his father greeting. As I was walking about with your father, I heard a friend of my father's saying about you that he had sent a message to your mother-in-law about the farm, since the boundaries are to be fixed. Do you therefore come back, for it is pressing. I salute Thermouthas and Isidorus and his sister Helena and Tepsois and her child, whom the evil eye shall not harm, and all the household. Good-bye. Pauni 30.' (Addressed) 'Deliver to Sarapion from Dioxenus.'

1. τῷ πατρί: the relationship of the πατήρ in this line to the πατήρ in line 3 and the πατήρ μου in line 4 is very puzzling. Obviously the first two cannot be identical, and if the first is identical with the third, the second must be the writer's grandfather. If τῷ πατρί in lines 1 and 3 have their natural meaning, there is no alternative to this. It is however very remarkable that the writer should refer to the recipient of the letter in this impersonal manner, and we are inclined to think that the πατήρ in line 3 is identical with the πατήρ μου in line 4, in which case τῷ πατρί in line 1 must be a mistake or else πατρί there means father-in-law or is used as a term of respect.

CXXVII. Letter of a Daughter.

Ûmm el 'Atl. Gizeh Inv. no. 10243. 11·3 × 8·8 *cm*. Second or third century.

A letter from Taorsenouphis to her mother, requesting the delivery of some grapes to the sister of the writer's mother and announcing the dispatch of various articles.

Ταορσενοῦφις Ἰσίῳ{ν} τῇ μητρὶ
πολλὰ χαίρειν.
πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὔχομαί σε ὑ(γ)ιαίνιν καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράπιδι. καλῶς ποιήσις τῶ ἐπιβάλλον ὑμῖν τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος δ[ο]ῦναι αὐτὸ τῇ ἀδελφῇ σου καὶ ̣σταφυλιων. ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν γ [ζεύ]γη φιαλῶν, σοὶ α καὶ Πετεσούχῳ α καὶ τοῖς γαμ⟨β⟩ροῖς τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου α, καὶ μικ⟨κ⟩ὸν ποτήριν Θεονᾶτι τῷ μικ⟨κ⟩ῷ καὶ ἄλλο τῇ θυγατρὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου· καὶ ἐὰ⟨ν⟩ λάβητε φαγὸν πέμψαι ἐμοὶ διὰ Κατοίτου.

On the *verso*

ἀπὸ Ταορσενούφι⟨ο⟩ς μητρός.

6. l. *τό*. 8. l. *σταφύλιον?* 15. l. *φακόν?* 17. l. *μητρί*. *απο* is perhaps for *ἀπό(δος)*.

'Taorsenouphis to Ision her mother many greetings. Before all else I pray for your health, and I supplicate the lord Sarapis on your behalf. Please give the share that falls to you of the fruit of the vineyard to your sister, and a bunch of grapes. I have sent you three pairs of bowls, one for yourself, one for Petesuchus, one for the sons-in-law of your sister, and a little cup for little Theonas, and another for the daughter of your sister. If you get any lentils send them to me by Katoitus.'

1. *Ἰσιων* must be wrong, but to what it is to be corrected is not certain. *Ἰσίωνι* is excluded because Ision is a man's name, *Ἰσίωνος* is not likely because in familiar letters patronymics are not given. A name in the dative is preferable, probably *Ἰσίῳ* from *Ἴσιον*.

CXXVIII. Letter of Midas.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 10·7 × 9 *cm.* Third century.

A letter from Midas to Akous, perhaps the writer's son, asking him to tell Posidonius, who had referred Midas to a certain Ponticus in connexion with the sale or lease of a house, of Ponticus' refusal to negotiate. On the *verso* are three incomplete lines of an account.

Μίδας Ἀκοῦτι τῷ̣ [. . .] χαίρειν.
γενοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον Ποσι-
δώνιον καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ̣ ὅτι οὐκ ἐ-
πέστρε̣πται ὁ Ποντικὸς λαβεῖν τὴν
οἰκίαν παρ' ἡμῶν. προσήλθαμεν
δὲ ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ̣ κα[ὶ ἔδ]ωκεν
ἡμῖν σημεῖον πρ[ὸ]ς Ποντικό̣[ν.

1. [υἱῷ̣?] 7. ο of *σημειον* corr. from *ν*.

'Midas to Akous his (son?), greeting. Go to the illustrious Posidonius and tell him that Ponticus has not shown any inclination to take the house from us. I went to Posidonius and he gave me a message to Ponticus.'

CXXIX. Letter to Serenus.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 12·5 × 8·5 *cm.* Third century.

A short letter to Serenus from some person informing him that his presence was wanted.

Χαῖρε, κύριε τ[ε]μιώτατ[ε.
Ἀπολλῶτι συνέβαλον
καὶ ἐτάξατο πάντως
καταβῆναι τῇ ἐνδε-
κάτῃ καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν
ποιήσασθαι. ἀξιο̣ῖ̣ δὲ
παρόντ[ος] σοῦ γενέσθαι.

ἵν' οὖν ἰδῇς ἀναφέρω
σοι. ἐρρῶσθαι εὔχομαι πανοικ(εί).

On the *verso*

Σερήνῳ ἐπί(δος).

7. σ of γενέσθαι above the line. 8. ο of ουν corr. from ι (?)

'Greeting, my most esteemed master. I arranged with Apollos and he appointed for certain the eleventh for his coming down and making the delivery. He wants it to be done in your presence, so I send this note to inform you. My best wishes for the health of all your household.' (Addressed) 'Present to Serenus.'

CXXX. Letter of Mysthes.

Kaṣr el Banât. 23 x 12 *cm*. Third century.

Letter from Mysthes to his brother Serapammon, saying that he was looking after some copper (money?) until he met Serapammon at a festival.

Μύσθης Σεραπάμμωνι τ[ῷ]
ἀδελφῷ πλεῖστα χαίρειν. πρὸ
μὲν πάντων εὔχομαί σε ὑγιαί-
νιν καὶ τ[ὸ] προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ κα-
τ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν παρὰ τοῖ(ς) ἐνθά[δ]ε θεοῖς.
γεινώσκιν σε θέλω, κύριέ [μου, ὅ]τι
προνοῶ τοῦ χ[α]λκοῦ πά[ντη πάν-
τως καθὼς ἐταξάμη[ν ἕως ἂν κα-
ταλαμβάνω σε πρὸς τὴν ἑορ-
τὴν ἀμεριμνικὸν ἐμοῦ,
ὡς ἐ[μο]ῦ προνοο(ῦ)[ντ]ος τοῦ χαλ-
κοῦ. ἀντίγραψόν μ[ο]ι καὶ σὺ τὰ
περὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ εἴ τινος ἡὰν
χρία σοί ἐστιν ἀντίγραψόν μοι ἀνό-
κνως. κόμισαι παρὰ τοῦ ἀναδιδόν-
τος σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν κεράμιν ἐλεῶν.
ἀσπάζομαι Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἀδελ-
φόν σου καὶ Εὐ[ν]ίκην τὴν ἀδελφήν

σου καὶ [τὸ]ν πατέρα σου.
ἐρρῶσταί σε εὔχομαι πανοι-
κεί, κύριέ μου.

On the *verso* at right angles

ἀπόδο̣ς̣ . . . . [. . Σερ-]
απά̣μ̣μων[ι . . . .]ιτη   π(αρὰ) Μύσθου.

13. l. ἐάν.   16. l. ἐλαιῶν.   20. l. ἐρρῶσθαι.

'Mysthes to his brother Serapammon many greetings. Before all else I pray for your health and every day supplicate the gods here on your behalf. I wish you to know, sir, that I am by all means looking after the copper, as I arranged, until I meet you at the festival, having in the mean time no anxiety for me, knowing that I am looking after the copper. Please tell me in your answer the news of the metropolis, and if you are in want of anything, write back to me without hesitation. Receive from the bearer of this letter a jar of olives. I salute your brother Ptolemaeus and your sister Eunice and your father. My best wishes for your health and that of all your household, dear brother.'

CXXXI. Letter to Sarapion.

Kaṣr el Banât. 25 × 8 *cm.* Third or early fourth century.

A letter addressed to Sarapion by a person whose name is lost, giving him directions about the sale of some barley and the irrigation of a farm.

. . . . .
π̣α̣ρ̣ [. . . . .] .
κρατωνος κριθῆς
ἀρτάβας τριάκοντα
ἓ̣ξ καὶ ποίησον αὐτὰς
πραθῆναι ἐκ (δραχμῶν) ιδ,
ἐπὶ πολλῶι χρόνῳ̣ ἔχει
αὐτὰς καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλη-
σεν ἡμῶν τὸ ἔργον
ποιῆσαι. ἐ̣[ὰ]ν τὸ ὕδωρ
κατέλθῃ πάσῃ προθυ-
μί̣ᾳ χρῆσαι ἔστ' ἂν τὸ
ὑδροστάσιον γεμισθῇ,
ἀλλὰ πάντως
τὸ Δεκασίου τοῦ φίλου
λάχανον πάντως
πότισον. ἐὰ⟨ν⟩ μὴ ἦ̣ς
ποτίσας, τὰ ταυρ⟨ι⟩κὰ
μὴ ἀργείτωι, τιλήτωι
τ̣ . [. .] . . . ν̣ . . ωρων
[.]η̣ . τ̣η̣ν̣α̣ . . . . υ̣ρια καὶ ε-
[.] . . αρια δ̣ι̣έπεμψα
ν̣[.] . . . ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχο(μαι).

On the *verso*

Σαραπί- X -ωνι.

7. θε of ηθελη corr.   9. ὔδωρ Pap., so in 12 ὒδροστασιον.

'... thirty-six artabae of barley and get them sold at 14 drachmae an artaba, since it is a long time that he has kept them and he refused to do our work. If the water comes down, make every exertion until the basin is filled, but by all means water the vegetables of our friend Decasius. If you are not engaged in watering, don't let the oxen be idle, ...'

CXXXII. Invitation to Dinner.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 5 × 5·3 *cm.* Third century.

An invitation from Isidorus to some person unnamed to dine with him on the occasion of his daughter's marriage; cf. Ox. Pap. I. 110, 111, which have a similar formula.

Ἐρωτᾷ σαι Ἰσίδωρ[ος δειπνῆ-
σαι παρ' αὐτῷ [εἰς τοὺς γά-
μους θυγατρὸ[ς αὐτοῦ (?)
εἰς τὰ Τίτου τοῦ (ἑκατοντάρχου) [ἀπὸ ὥρας
θ.

1. l. σε.

'Isidorus invites you to dine with him on the occasion of his daughter's wedding at the house of Titus the centurion at 9 o'clock.'

3. Perhaps αὔριον instead of αὐτοῦ; invitations were generally issued the day before; cf. Ox. Pap. I. 110 and 111. Otherwise the day is not specified here.

4, 5. [ἀπὸ ὥρας] θ: about 3 in the afternoon, the regular time; cf. the two Oxyrhynchus invitations.

CXXXIII. Letter of Alypius.

Harît. 30 × 15·5 *cm.* Fourth century.

This letter, which is written on the *verso* of civ, is from Alypius to Heron, giving some directions about making wine. The seventh year is most probably that of Constantine II (A. D. 343–4).

Π(αρὰ) Ἀλυπίου [
ἀπέστειλα τὸν οἰκ[ον]όμον [Ἡρα-
κλείδην πρὸς σὲ καθὰ ἠξίω[σας
ἵνα τὴν διαταγὴν τῆς τρύγης

ποιήσηται. [ὑ]περθοῦ δὲ ἡμερῶν
δ[ύο] καὶ τριῶν ἵνα καὶ τὰ κοῦφά σοι
[σ]υνδράμῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ οἶνος [[ἑτοῖμος]]
καλὸς γένηται, οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι
ὁ καιρὸς νῦν ἐστιν ὀψιμώτερος, κα-
θὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις κτηματίοις
ἐποίησα. καθ' αὐτὴν οὖν τὴν ὄψιν
μὴ πισθεὶς οὖν τοῖς καρπώναις τὴν τρύ-
γην ποίησε καὶ οὕτως μοι ἐπίστειλον.
ἔπεμψα δέ σοι καὶ ἀπολυσίδιον οἴνο[υ
εἰς τὴν τρύγην πρὸς σὲ μ̣ό̣ν̣ο̣ν̣ [
ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχο(μαι).
Ἥρωνει Νὰφ Θρασ̣ῶ.
(ἔτους) ζ, Μεσορὴ ιη.

4. ϊνα Pap., so in 6. 12. θ of πισθεις corr. from τ. ουν over a word erased. 13. l. ποίησαι. 17. σ of θρασω corr.

'From Alypius. I have sent to you the steward Heraclides as you requested, to make arrangements about the vintage. Wait for two or three days in order that you may collect the vessels and also the wine become good, for you know that the season is now rather late, as I have done also in the case of the other properties. As soon therefore as you see this, don't listen to the fruit-buyers, but hold the vintage, and when you do, send me word. I have also sent you a sample (?) of wine for the vintage for you alone. My best wishes for your health. To Heron, son of Naph, of Thraso. The 7th year, Mesore 18.'

6. κοῦφα: cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 766.

14. ἀπολυσίδιον: this word, which is new, apparently means a small vessel of some kind.

17. Νάφ: Νώφ could also be read, and the name is followed by two strokes. Possibly it is an abbreviation, but Νάφ occurs as a name without any appearance of being abbreviated in cxxxv. 1. Θρασώ is a village name; cf. Ost. **23**. 4, B. G. U. 634. 1.

CXXXIV. Letter of Eudaemon.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 10·2 × 10 *cm.* Early fourth century.

A letter from Eudaemon to Longinus asking him to come and bring the ὕαλος, apparently here a stone implement of some kind for clipping coins, in order that the writer might get some wine with the proceeds of this (nefarious) transaction.

Εὐδαίμ[ω]ν Λογγείνῳ χαίρειν.
παρακληθεὶς κύριε σκῦλον σε-
αυτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φέρων εἰ δό-
ξαν σοι τὴν ὕαλον καὶ δυνηθῶ-
μ[εν] τὸ λογάριν περικόψε, ἐὰν
. . [. .]ς, καὶ καλὸν Μαρεωτικὸν δυ-
ν[ήσε]ι μοι σειρῶσαι ἐρχόμενος
[τ]ῆς τιμῆς. ἔρρωσσο—

1. λογ'γινω Pap. 5. l. περικόψαι. 7. The last six letters of the line are smudged. 8. l. ἔρρωσ{σ}ο or perhaps ἐρρῶσ(θαί) σ(ε εὔχ)ομ(αι), which is often written very cursively in these fourth century documents.

'Eudaemon to Longinus greeting. I entreat you, sir, to hasten to me and bring, if you please, the crystal (?) and we can clip the cash. If you . . , you will be able to strain me some good Mareotic wine, when you come, with the value. Good-bye.'

4. ὕαλον: not glass here, but some hard transparent stone with which to clip the rims of the coins.

7. σειρῶσαι: why this rare word is used is obscure. Apparently the sense is that Longinus and Eudaemon would buy some wine with the metal taken from the coins.

CXXXV. Letter of Agathus.

Kaṣr el Banât. 20·2 × 12 *cm.* Fourth century.

Letter from Agathus to his father, urging him to pay a debt. On the *verso* is a list of Roman with the corresponding Egyptian months, e. g. Ἰούλιος Ἐπείφ, Αγοῦστος Μεσορή. November and December are spelled Νωέμ[π]ερ Δεκέμπερ.

Ἀγαθὸς Νὰφ πατρὶ χ(αίρειν).
τοῦ καιροῦ καλέσαντος τῆς
συνκομιδῆς οφ[. . . . . .
σεαυτῷ τὸν χρέ[. .] . ῳ . [.
ἀποστῖλαι ἵνα μ[ὴ] δόξῃ μ[ο]ι
στρατιώτας ἀποστῖλαι ἐπὶ
σαὶ καὶ συνκλισθῇς ἄχρις ἂν
πληρώσῃς. ἀλλὰ ἐπι-
σπούδασον πληρῶσαι

ἵνα ἡ φιλία διαμίνῃ μ̣ε̣τ' ἀλ-
λήλων, καὶ μεταδότω
ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Γεροντίῳ
διὰ τὰ ἀργύρια ἃ ἔλαβες καὶ δέ-
δωκας αὐτῷ. χρεωστῖς
γὰρ καὶ τοῦ πέρυσι λαχανοσπέρ-
μου ἀρτάβην μίαν ἡμίσ̣ι̣α̣ν̣.
ἐρρῶσθαι εὔχομ̣α̣ι̣.

2. l. τὴν συγκομιδὴν? 5. ἵνα Pap., so in 10. 7. l. σέ. 13. και δε rewritten. 16. ἡμίσιαν: or ἥμισ{σ}υ.

'Agathus to his father Naph, greeting. As the season requires the gathering . . . please send the . . , that I may not have to send soldiers after you, and you be put in prison until you pay. Make haste to pay, in order that we may remain on good terms with each other, and let my (? your) brother communicate (?) with Gerontius about the money which you received and gave him. For you have been owing since last year one and a half artabae of vegetable-seed. I pray for your health.'

3. The doubtful φ may equally well be ι. In 4 τὸν χρε[is perhaps for τὸ χρέ[ος.

12. ἡμῶν is very likely for ὑμῶν, the two forms being frequently confused at this period.

13. διά is difficult: if μεταδότω means 'communicate,' περί is the natural preposition, if it means 'pay' then διά is superfluous.

CXXXVI. Christian Letter.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 12 × 7·5 *cm.* Fourth century.

Concluding part of a letter in which the writer urges the addressees to return to their homes.

. . . . .

χ̣[. . . . . ε]ἰ-
δότες ὅτι ἔχετέ με ἰς ὅσ' ἂν
πάσχετε, θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος.
ὅθεν μηδένα εὐλαβούμε-
νοι μᾶλλον ἀπαντήσατε
ἀπ' ἑαυτῶν πρὸ τοῦ τις ὑμᾶς
ἐνέγκῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐκέ-

τι ἐν ὑμῖν χάρις. ἄμινον ὑ-
μᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις οἷς ἐὰν
τύχοι εἶναι ἢ ἐπὶ ξένης.
ἐρρῶσθαι ὑ-
μᾶς εὔχομαι πολλοῖς
χρονι αν . [. .] .

On the *verso*

Ακιοκ . . [
α . . [

2. ἴς Pap. 3. l. πάσχητε. 4. μηδενᾶ Pap. 7. ενεγ'κη Pap. 11. υ corr. from σε.

'. . knowing that you have me to aid in whatever you may suffer, the Lord helping you. Therefore heed no one rather than me and return from where you are before some one fetches you, and there is no longer grace in you. It is better for you to be in your homes whatever they may be, than abroad. I offer many prayers for your health.'

13. χρόνοις is wanted, but the traces do not suit, and there is in any case something at the end (*not* ἀδελφοί or κύριοι or ἀγαπητοί). There may be two letters lost between χ and the supposed ρ.

CXXXVII. Question to the Oracle.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 4·5 x 8·2 *cm*. First century.

This papyrus and cxxxviii were found together in the central chamber of the temple of Bacchias, and both consist of short petitions addressed to the oracle in very illiterate Greek. Two very similar documents in equally corrupt Greek from Dimê have already been published in B. G. U. 229, 230, the reconstruction of which can now be improved in the light of the Bacchias papyri. In cxxxvii Sokanobkoneus, the local deity of Bacchias (cf. xviii. 3 and p. 22) is invoked to answer the question whether the petitioner should remain at Bacchias.

Σοκωννωκοννι θεῶι με(γά)λο μεγά-
λωι. χρημάτισον μοι, ἦ μείνωι
ἐν Βακχιάδι; ἦ μέλ(λ)ω ἐντυνχ-
άνιν; τουτωι ἐμοὶ χρημάτισον.

1. l. Σοκανοβκονεῖ (cf. xviii. 3) θεῷ μεγάλῳ. 2. η corr. from ει. 4. l. τοῦτο. σ of χρηματισον over the line.

'To Sokanobkoneus the great, great god. Answer me, shall I remain in Bacchias? Shall I meet (him?)? Answer me this.'

2. ἦ: so in cxxxviii. 1 ἦ κρείνεται, B. G. U. 229. 3, 230. 3 ἦ μὲν σοθησωι; (for ἦ μὴν σωθήσομαι or σωθῶ;). Whether η in line 3 is also ἦ is doubtful; ἤ or ἧ are possible alternatives there.

CXXXVIII. Question to the Oracle.

Ûmm el 'Atl. 3.3 × 7.3 *cm.* First or second century.

Another petition, addressed not to Sokanobkoneus but to the Dioscuri, praying for the departure of some one to the metropolis, presumably Arsinoë; cf. introd. to cxxxvii.

Κύριοι Διόσκουροι, ἦ κρείνεται
αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἰς πόλειν;
τοῦτο ἐκξένειγκον καὶ
συμφονησάτο πρὸς
τὸν ἀδελφόν σου.

3. l. ἐξένεγκον. 4. l. συμφωνησάτω or συμφωνήσατε?

'O lords Dioscuri, is it fated for him to depart to the city? Bring this to pass, and let him come to an agreement with thy brother.'

1. ἦ: cf. note on cxxxvii. 2.
3. Similarly in B. G. U. 229. 4, 230. 4 τουτον μοι εξενικον, which is not understood by the editors, is equivalent to τοῦτό μοι ἐξένεγκον.
4. The subject of συμφωνησάτω (if that is what is meant) seems to be the person mentioned in line 2. But ἀδελφόν σου (one of the Dioscuri or αὐτόν?) is quite obscure.

CXXXIX. Horoscope.

Ḳaṣr el Banât. 26.2 × 18 *cm.* Late second century.

The *recto* of this papyrus contains parts of two columns of an account of legal proceedings (?) in a very mutilated condition. On the *verso* is the beginning of a horoscope, of which only the name of the person was written and the date, given as usual by the two calendars, the 'Greek' (i.e. the Julian)

and the 'ancient' (in which there was no leap year). The date in question is Mesore 5 = Thoth 16 in the first year of Marcus and Verus (July 29, A. D. 161). The divergence thus amounts to 44 days, which is consistent with the evidence of other horoscopes; see introd. to Ox. Pap. II. 235. The ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι began to diverge from the fixed year in B. C. 22, gaining one day in every four years.

The writing is not much later than the date of the horoscope.

Ἁρποκρατίων [
α (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου [καὶ
Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων
Σεβαστῶν, καθ' Ἕλληνας
Μεσορὴ ε ὥρᾳ ζ ἡμέρα(ς),
κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχέους Θὼθ ιϛ.

6. l. ἀρχαίους.

IV. DESCRIPTIONS OF MISCELLANEOUS PAPYRI.

(a) Kôm Ushîm.

CXL. List of persons, forming a register or taxing list, in several columns. Much mutilated. Second century. Height 29·5 cm.

CXLI. Gizeh Inv. no. 10217. 14 fragments of two incomplete columns containing Homer, *Iliad* i. 273–362, written in a good-sized round uncial. The text is the vulgate[1]. In 273 the papyrus has *μυ* for *μευ*, and in 298 *μαχεσσομ[αι]*, in 304 *μαχ]εσσομενω*. *ι* adscript is generally written. First or second century. The largest fragment is 14·4 × 13·3 cm.

CXLII. Gizeh Inv. no. 10247. Letter of Pnepheros (?) to his mother Tamizas (?). Late third or early fourth century. Incomplete. 27 lines. 25·5 × 11·8 cm.

CXLIII. Gizeh Inv. no. 10242. Receipt for $1\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of corn paid 'for the corn of the tenth indiction at Karanis' by Ἀβρααμ[. . . | λη συνευκ( ) ναυλ( ) (cf. B. G. U. 548. 3). Written by Sambas ὑποδέκτης. Cancelled. Sixth century. 6 lines. 4·3 × 4·7 cm.

(b) Ûmm el 'Atl.

CXLIV. Gizeh Inv. no. 10219. Letter from Isidorus, complete, but much obliterated. Dated in Thoth of the twenty-eighth year of a Ptolemy, who must be either Philometor or Euergetes II (B.C. 154 or 143). 19 lines. 31·6 × 10·9 cm. This and cxlv–cli were found in the temple of Sokanobkoneus; cf. p. 38.

CXLV. Order from Ptolemaeus, scribe (of the γεωργοί or κτηνοτρόφοι), to make some payment in kind for the μάχιμοι συντακτικοί. Cf. xviii (*a*) and (*b*), and cxlvi–cl. Dated in the nineteenth year. First century B.C. Incomplete. 7 lines. 10·6 × 7 cm.

[1] The following collations of both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* fragments are with the text of La Roche.

CXLVI. Order from Onnophris, scribe of the *κτηνοτρόφοι*, to Acusilaus, sitologus, to pay [2 ?] artabae of wheat for *φόρετρον*. Cf. xviii (*b*). Dated in the twentieth year. First century B.C. Incomplete. 7 lines. 10·8 × 7·7 cm.

CXLVII. Order from Straton, scribe of the *γεωργοί*, to pay 2 artabae of wheat *εἰς β. κ( ) γῆν* to . . . and *μέτοχοι*. Cf. xviii (*a*). Dated in Choiak of the twentieth year. First century B.C. Incomplete. 6 lines. 11 × 7·4 cm.

CXLVIII. Order from Zoilus, *γρ'* (= *γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν?*), to Acusilaus, to pay 2 artabae of wheat for *φόρετρον*. Cf. xviii (*b*). Dated in the twentieth year. First century B.C. Incomplete. 9 lines. 10·7 × 6 cm.

CXLIX. Order from Zoilus, *γρ'* (cf. cxlviii), to pay [2 ?] artabae *εἰς κ . . . ω( ) β(ασιλικὴν?) γῆν*. Cf. xviii (*a*). First century B.C. Incomplete. 3 lines. 2·5 × 8·2 cm.

CL. Order from Straton (cf. cxlvii) to pay various sums of wheat [*εἰς*] *βα(σιλικὴν?) γῆν*. Cf. xviii (*a*). Dated in the twentieth year. First century B.C. Incomplete. 12 lines. 13·3 × 7 cm.

CLI. Signatures to a contract for loan, in which the borrowers, Petesuchus and Onnophris, Persians of the Epigone, acknowledge the receipt of six artabae of wheat *μέτρῳ ἑξαχοινίκῳ* to be returned in Pauni of the *πρώτου καὶ τρίτου ἔτους*. The papyrus is not earlier than the first century B.C., nor later than Augustus' reign, and probably *τρίτου* is an error for *τρι⟨ακοσ⟩τοῦ*, i.e. A.D. 1–2. 15 lines. 12·7 × 11·5 cm.

CLII. Gizeh Inv. no. 10220. Acknowledgement by Heraclides of the receipt of 24½ artabae from Herais, being a year's rent. Dated in the fourteenth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Sebastus (A.D. 53). Complete. 8 lines. 9 × 13·1 cm.

CLIII. On the *recto*, two incomplete columns of a list of payments by various persons, arranged in alphabetical order. On the *verso* is one nearly complete column in a different hand, but dealing with the same subject. We give a specimen of the entries concerning one person for a year; ll. 27–30, Πετοβάστις Πετοβάστιο(ς) Σερκ( ) μη(τρὸς) Θαισᾶτος τρα( ) Νέου Σεβα(στοῦ) κδ κω( ) κο( ) ιζ (δραχμαὶ) ιβ, Νερω(νείου) κε κο( ) λγ (δραχμαὶ) η, Τῦβ(ι) κα κο( ) κγ (δραχμαὶ) η, Φαμε(νὼθ) κθ κο( ) ξε (δραχμαὶ) η, Φαρμο(ῦθι) κα κο( ) οε (δραχμαὶ) δ, Γερμ(ανικείου) κδ κο( ) πγ (δραχμαὶ) δ (ἥμισυ) χ(αλκοῖ) β. From the position occupied by the month Neroneus between Neos Sebastus (Athur) and Tubi, it must clearly be identical with Choiak; cf. cccxxi, where Neroneus Sebastus comes between the same two months. Unless, therefore, there is an error in one of these

two papyri, the months Neroneus and Neroneus Sebastus coincided with Choiak. Neroneus Sebastus had previously been identified with Pharmouthi by Kenyon on the evidence of Tac., *Ann.* xvi. 12, and Suetonius, *Nero* 55, who state that Nero gave his name to the month of April. But both Neroneus and Neroneus Sebastus are found as early as the reign of Claudius (B. G. U. 713. 3, and Wilcken, *Ost.* II. no. 1555); and cccxxi, which was written in the reign of Nero, shows that in Egypt Neroneus Sebastus continued to be equivalent to Choiak. First century A.D. 40 lines. 28·1 x 13·3 cm.

CLIV. Request addressed to the *βιβλιοφύλακες ἐνκτήσεων Ἀρσι(νοίτου)* by a woman, with her son Sambas as *κύριος*, who wished to alienate *διὰ τῶν* [. . . . . . *κατα*]*λοχι*[*σμ*]*ῶν* a vineyard. Cf. B. G. U. 184, and Ox. Pap. II, p. 180. First or early second century. Incomplete. 18 lines (the beginnings of which are lost). 10·3 x 6·2 cm.

CLV. Notice, sent through the bank of Maron (?) *στοᾶς Ἀθηνᾶς*, of a loan of 48 drachmae to be paid back in Phaophi of the following year. Formula similar to C. P. R. I. 15 and B. G. U. 70 (Mitteis, *Trapezitica*, pp. 27 sqq.). Dated in Pauni of the twentieth year of Imp. Caes. Trajanus Hadrianus Aug. (A.D. 136). Imperfect. 14 lines. 15·6 x 9·8 cm.

CLVI. On the *recto* 8 incomplete lines of an account. Second century. On the *verso* 18 nearly complete lines of a list of persons with number of donkeys (supplied?). The first four lines are—

> Ἀνουβίων ἀπολ(   ) ἀγραφο) δι(ὰ) Πανείνου ὄ[νοι .
> Σμάραγδος δοῦλ(ος) Ἀπολλωνίο(υ)   [. . .
> / ὄνοι κ.
> η δεκανίας (followed by names as before).

Second century. 14·8 x 8·2 cm.

CLVII. Two small fragments in a large uncial hand, containing parts of Homer, *Od.* x. 366–380, and 399–402. The papyrus omits 368–372; 377]*μ ισταμε*[*νη*. First or second century. On the *verso*, parts of 3 lines in a different hand. Fragment (*a*) 13·2 x 5·8 cm.

CLVIII. Receipt for 96 drachmae paid for *φόρου* . . . . Dated in the third year of Marcus Aurel. Severus Alexander Pius Felix Aug. (A.D. 223–4). Nearly complete, but much effaced. 5 lines. 10·2 x 8·5 cm.

CLIX. Beginning of an official document of some kind, mentioning [Pa]ctumenius Magnus, praefect. Dated in the sixteenth year of Imp. Caes.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Parth. Sarmat. Max. (A.D. 175–6). 7 lines. 5·2 × 16 cm.

CLX. Gizeh Inv. no. 10218. 10 fragments containing Homer, *Il.* xx. 36–110, in two much mutilated columns. Collated with La Roche's text the variants are 41 *ειος*, 42 *τεως . . . μεγα κυδανον*, 53 *περ* [*Σιμοεντι*, 59 *πο*]*λυπει*[*δακος*, 61 *εδδ*[*εισεν*, 77 *μαλιστα γε*, 78 *ταλαυρρινο*[*ν*], 79 *ειθυς*, 81 *ισατο*, 84 *υπεσχεο*, 101 *ουκε*, 108 *ειθυ*[*ς*. First or second century. Largest fragment 15·8 × 11·5 cm.

CLXI. Gizeh Inv. no. 10234. Order to the *ἀρχέφοδος* of Bacchias to send up various accused persons; cf. xxxvii. Third century. Written on the vertical fibres. Incomplete, the ends of lines being lost. 8 lines. 12·8 × 23·2 cm.

CLXII. Gizeh Inv. no. 10232. Acknowledgement by the sitologi of Bacchias Hephaestias (cf. note on xv, 4) of the receipt of $3\frac{2}{3}$ artabae of wheat, and $\frac{1}{24}$ artaba for *προσμετρούμενα*, for the *κ(άτ)οι(κοι)* of Hephaestias, paid to the credit of (*εἰς*) Secundus (?) *διὰ Τεσενούφεως*. Same formula as lxxxi–lxxxiv; cf. introd. to lxxxi. Dated in Athur of the thirteenth year of Imp. Caes. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Aug. Arm. Med. Parth. Germ. Max. (A.D. 172). Nearly complete. 13 lines. 23·6 × 9·4 cm.

CLXIII. Gizeh Inv. no. 10233. Account, complete as far as it goes, of receipts and payments. Second or third century. 13 lines. 14·1 × 11·3 cm.

CLXIV, CLXV. Two receipts issued by the *πύλη* of Bacchias for the tax *λιμένος Μέμφεως* paid by Paësis on Athur 5 and Pauni 10 of the seventeenth year, *ἐξ(άγων)* (in clxiv) *ἐπὶ ὄνῳ ἐνὶ φοι(νίκων) ἀρτάβας τρεῖς καὶ ἐφ' ἐτ(έρῳ) σκ( ) φοι(νίκων) (ἀρτάβας) δύο*, (in clxv) *ἐπὶ* [*ὄνῳ*] *ἐνὶ ὀρόβ(ου) (ἀρτάβας) τρε*[*ῖς, καὶ*] *ἐφ' ἐτ(έρῳ) σκ( ) σινάπε*[*ω*]*ς (ἀρτάβας) δύο*. Cf. introd. to lxvii. Second century. Practically complete. 6·5 × 4·5 and 5·3 × 4·2 cm.

CLXVI–CLXXVI. Similar receipts for the tax *λιμένος Μέμφεως* paid by persons leaving the Fayûm. Cf. introd. to lxvii. Second or third century.

CLXXVII–CLXXXV. Similar receipts for the tax *ρ' καὶ ν'*. Cf. introd. to lxvii. Second or third century.

CLXXXV (*a*). Gizeh Inv. no. 10238. Receipt for the tax *ρ' καὶ ν'* paid by Charemon exporting upon a donkey 10 *ἐρίων πόκους*. Dated in the fifth year. Second or third century. Complete. 6 lines. 5·3 × 4·3 cm.

CLXXXVI–CLXXXIX. Similar receipts for *ἴχνους ἐρημοφυλακίας*. Cf. introd. to lxvii. Second or third century.

CXC. List of payments for various taxes, headed *κατ'*] *ἄνδρα Χαιρήμωνο(ς)*[

followed by]δ( ) *εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους*. Amongst the payments are (line 3) *ἐπαρο(υρίου)* 7 dr. 1 obol, *προ(σδιαγραφόμενα)* 3½ obols; (line 5) *ἀπομ(οίρας)* 5 dr. . . .; (line 8) *ἐπαρο(υρίου)* 7 dr. 1 obol, *προ(σδιαγραφόμενα)* 3½ obols, *κολ(λύβου)* 1½ obols 2 (?) chalci, *σ(υμβολικά)*; (line 9) *ν(αυβίου) κα(τοίκων) δευτέρου ἔτους* 3 dr. . . .; (line 11) *ἐνα( ) ὁ αὐτ(ός)* 6 dr., *προ(σδιαγραφόμενα)* 1 dr. 1 obol . . .; (line 12) *φ[όρ]ο(υ) φυτ(ῶν) δευτέρου ἔτους*. Cf. introd. to xli. Since the second year is probably the year immediately following the twentieth year, the papyrus may be placed in the second year of Hadrian (A.D. 117–8). Incomplete. 13 lines. 9·6 × 8·4 cm.

CXCI. Receipt for 9 (?) obols of copper paid for *ναυβ(ίου) κ(ατ)οί(κων)*. Same formula as lvi. Dated in the tenth year of Imp. Caes. Vespasianus Aug., Germaniceus (A.D. 78). Nearly complete. 4 lines. On the *verso* a similar receipt for 9 obols, the name of the tax being lost. Dated in the third year of Imp. Titus [Caes.] Vespasianus (A.D. 80–1). Incomplete. 11 lines. 9·7 × 8·8 cm.

CXCII. Receipt for various taxes. Line 4 *ἀλὸς ἐννεακαιδ[εκάτου ἔτους*, line 5 / 11 dr. 1½ obols, *ν(αυβίου)* 3 obols 2 chalci, *προσ(διαγραφόμενα)*. . Cf. introd. to xli. Dated in the twentieth year of Imp. [Caes.] Trajanus Hadrianus [Aug.] (A.D. 135–6). Incomplete. 6 lines, the ends of which are lost. 6·3 × 9 cm.

CXCIII. Part of taxing list. The entries consist of a name in the nominative followed by *εἰς* with one or two names and the same four taxes. Lines 18 sqq , *Λογγεῖνος μηχ( ) εἰς Ἡρακλείδην Ἰσίωνος, καὶ εἰς Ἰσίωνα Ἡρακλείδου, καὶ εἰς Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον Γέμελλον ν(αυβίου) κ(ατ)οί(κων)* 3 dr. 2 chalci, *προσ(διαγραφόμενα)* 2 obols, *κολ(λύβου)* ½ obol, *σ(υμβολικά)*. Cf. introd. to xli. Second century. Incomplete. 22 lines. 24·2 × 8·4 cm.

CXCIV. Fragment of a similar taxing list with the same formula, perhaps part of the same document. Line 4 *ν(αυβίου) ἐνα( )* 2 dr., *προσ(διαγραφόμενα)* 2½ obols, *κολ(λύβου)* 2 chalci. Second century. 5 lines. 6 × 6·3 cm.

CXCV. On the *recto* a fragment of an account. On the *verso* a message from . . . *ἡγούμ(ενος)* (cf. note on cx. 25) *πρὸς Ἀντώ(νιον) κωμογρ(αμματέα), ὅτε ἔλεγές μοι ὅτι εἶπε[ς] τῷ στρ(ατηγῷ) ὅτι μεταφέρω τὰ καμηλια τῆς Καρανίδ[ος] ἀπὸ Καρ(ανίδος) καὶ κατάγωσι εἰς [. . . . .] τὸν πυρόν*. Late second or third century. Nearly complete. 7 lines. 12·9 × 5·6 cm.

CXCVI. Receipt for 20 drachmae for poll-tax of the thirtieth year, and 10 [obols of copper for *προσδιαγραφόμενα*], paid by Souchas. Same formula as xlix and l. Dated in the thirty-first year of Marcus Aurelius Commodus Ant. Aug., Phaophi (A.D. 190) *εἰς ἀρίθ(μησιν) Θώθ*. Practically complete. 7 lines. 7·1 × 8·5 cm.

CXCVII. Similar receipt for 20 drachmae paid by Anoubas for poll-tax of the twenty-eighth year, [and 10 obols of copper] for προσδιαγραφόμενα. Same formula as xlix. Dated in the twenty-eighth year of M. Aurel. Commodus Ant. Aug., Pachon (A. D. 188) εἰς ἀρίθμησιν Φαρμ(οῦθι). Nearly complete. 6 lines. 6 x 8·8 cm.

CXCVIII. Gizeh Inv. no. 10230. Receipt for 20 drachmae paid by Heron for poll-tax of the fifteenth year, and [10] obols of copper for προσδιαγραφόμενα. Same formula as xlix. Dated in the sixteenth year of an emperor whose name is lost. Second century. Incomplete, the ends of lines being lost. 5 lines. 6·9 x 9·2 cm.

CXCIX. Gizeh Inv. no. 10227. Receipt for 20 drachmae paid by Soterichus also called Horus for poll-tax of the sixth year, and 10 obols of copper for προσδιαγραφόμενα. Same formula as xlix. Dated in the sixth year of Imp. Caes. M. Aurel. Antoninus Aug., and Imp. Caes. Lucius Aurel. Verus Aug., Mesore (A. D. 166). Practically complete. 7 lines. 9·7 x 8 cm.

CC. Gizeh Inv. no. 10228. Beginning of a tax-receipt dated in the thirteenth year of Aurel. Antoninus Caesar the lord, Arm. Med. Parth. Germ. Max., Mecheir (A. D. 173). 6 lines. 4·8 x 12·2.

CCI. Gizeh Inv. no. 10245. List of persons headed ἐκ βιβ[λι]οθήκης δημ[ο]σίων λόγων ἐκ γραφῆς πρακτόρων διὰ κατοίκω[ν] κώμης Βακχιάδος τοῦ δ (ἔτους). Written in red ink. Cf. B. G. U. 274. Second or third century. Incomplete. 8 lines. 12 x 16·2.

CCII. Gizeh Inv. no. 10246. Parts of two columns of a list of persons, with amounts of arourae (? from an ἀπαιτήσιμον, such as B. G. U. 659). Dated in the twenty-second year of Imp. Caes. Marcus Aurel. Severus Anton. Parth. Max. Brit. Max. Germ. Max. Pius Aug. (A. D. 213–4). 24 lines. 12·4 x 20·6 cm.

CCIII. Gizeh Inv. no. 10226. Two fragments containing parts of 26 lines of an account of legal proceedings, written in small uncials. A letter of the praefect Honoratus (probably M. Petronius Honoratus, praefect in A. D. 148) is mentioned, as well as κρίσεις of Calpurnianus, Maximianus and Neocydes (δικαιοδόται, cf. B. G. U. 378. 1, 17). Second century. 15 x 14 cm.

CCIV. Gizeh Inv. no. 10244. Beginnings of 12 lines of a collection of maxims (?). Line 1 ὁ βίος βραχ[ὺ]ς . . . Written in rude uncials on the *verso*. Second or third century. 8·5 x 4·5 cm.

CCV. Gizeh Inv. no. 10222. Ends of 13 lines of a contract for a loan of corn to be returned in Pauni. Cancelled. Middle or end of the second century. 7 x 5 cm.

CCVI. Gizeh Inv. no. 10223. Conclusion of a return probably relating to the ἐπίκρισις of a boy (cf. xxvii). Lines 1–5 . . . ἀπογραφὴν ἐμαυτὸν (ἐτῶν) λγ καὶ τὸν προγεγρ(αμμένον) υἱὸν Νεμεσίωνα Πρωτ(ᾶ) (ἐτῶν) γ, καὶ ὀμνύω, κ.τ.λ. Written in the reign of Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadrianus Antoninus Aug. Pius (A.D. 138–161). 11 lines. 9·2 x 7·6 cm.

CCVII. Gizeh Inv. no. 10229. Acknowledgement by the sitologi of Bacchias Hephaestias (cf. note on xv. 4) of a payment of wheat. Dated in the twelfth year of Aurel. Antoninus Caes. the lord, Med. Parth. Germ. Max., Pauni (A.D. 172). Incomplete, the end being lost. 13 lines. 9·3 x 6·1 cm.

CCVIII. Return from Aurelius . . . , [κωμογραμματεύς ?] of Bacchias, described as ἀπαιτήσιμον κα[τὰ κώμην ? ἀπο]τάκτου καὶ ἄλλων λημ[μάτων for a year in the reign of] Marcus Aurelius Se[verus Alexander] Pius Felix [Aug.] (A.D. 222–235). There follows (lines 7 sqq.) a list of villages with amounts (lost) in artabae of wheat. The first 3 are Bacchias, Tanis, and Socnopaei Nesus. 5 lines lower down occurs Ἡφ[αιστιάδος ? ; cf. xv. 4, note. On ἀπαιτήσιμα cf. introd. to xl. Early third century. Incomplete. 15 lines. On the *verso* parts of 10 lines of an account. 12·8 x 9·3 cm.

(*c*) *Kaṣr el Banât.*

CCIX. Fragment containing ends of Homer, *Il.* iii. 214–224, in a good-sized uncial. 220]τωι (αὔτως MSS.), 221 omitted. In the right-hand margin are 3 incomplete lines in small cursive, Πρίαμος occurring in the third; and some distance above them πο(ιητής). First century A.D. 10·5 x 4·9 cm.

CCX. Four fragments (the largest being 7·2 x 11·4 cm.) containing parts of Homer, *Il.* viii. 41–54, 86–104, 139–156, and 173–186 written in a medium-sized uncial hand, on the *verso* of some second century accounts. 45 τωι δ ουκ ακον[τε, 47 omitted, 92 οδυσσηα, 154 πε[ι]θον[ται, 182 κτυπω, 183 omitted, 186 [α]π[ο]τεινε[τον. About the second century.

CCXI. Three very broken columns containing parts of Homer, *Il.* xxii. 253–298, 350–355, 358–365, written in good-sized uncials. 263 is omitted in the text and added below in a cursive hand; 363 also is omitted; 364 τεθν]ειω[τ]α. First or early second century. Height 25 cm.

CCXII. Contract between Maron and Ninnas, Σωσικόσμιος ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς, for the loan of 40 drachmae. Dated in the thirteenth year of Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadrianus Antoninus Aug. Pius, Phaophi (A.D. 149). Nearly complete. 21 lines. 11·6 x 7·4 cm.

CCXIII. Acknowledgement by Apollonius of the receipt of rent for the twenty-

eighth year from Horus and another. Dated in the twenty-eighth year (of Augustus), Epeiph (B. C. 2). Complete. 7 lines. 16 x 9·5 cm.

CCXIV. Message to the κωμογραμματεύς of Euhemeria telling him to give the bearer a list of χωματεργολάβοι. Dated in the first year of Gaius Caesar Aug. Germ., Pauni (A. D. 37). Complete. 4 lines. 7 x 13·4 cm.

CCXV. Receipt for 140 drachmae paid παρὰ . . . τοῦ ζυτοπ(οιίαν) ἀσχ(ολουμένου) at Euhemeria in the thirteenth year of Aurelius Antoninus the lord. Mesore (A. D. 173). Nearly complete. 8 lines. 22·3 x 9 cm.

CCXVI. ἀπογραφή, addressed to Dius and Herodes, βιβλιοφύλακες, (cf. xxxii) by Alexion, of half a house and court. Signature of Dius γρ^τ (= γραμματεύς?) at the top in a different hand. Same formula as xxxii, which was written by the same scribe. Dated in Mesore of the fifteenth year (of Hadrian, i. e. A. D. 131). 15 lines. 21 x 10·3 cm.

CCXVII. Fragment containing on the *recto* a piece of an account, and on the *verso* ends of 9 lines of a document of uncertain character. Line 5]έρχεται Καῖσαρ προσαπο-, 7] τοῦ βίου τέρμα δ[ι]καίως, 8]ις Αὐτοκράτορι χρηστῷ. Second or third century. 9·7 x 8·5 cm.

CCXVIII. Part of a list of payments of various taxes. Line 5] καὶ Μεσορὴ Εὐδαίμων, 6] εἰδῶν πεντεκαιδεκάτου (ἔτους), 7] προ(σδιαγραφόμενα) ξε, ε) (i. e. ἐπαρουρίου? cf. xli. introd.) ροε, προ(σδιαγραφόμενα) ιε, κολ(λύβου) ιε, 8] δι(ὰ) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) π(αραδείσων?) ρλ, ἐλ(αιώνων?) ϛ, ν(αυβίου) ιε, 9]. . συμβ(ολικὰ) χα(λκοῦ) (τριώβολον), γεωμετ(ρίας), 10] (ὀβολός), προ(σδιαγραφόμενα) ὀβολός, συμβ(ολικὰ) (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιώβολον). Cf. xli and introd. to lv. Second century. Incomplete. 10 lines. 8·9 x 6·2 cm.

CCXIX. Receipt for payment of beer, dated in the reign of Claudius or Nero. Line 2]. . διαγεγρ(άφηκεν) Ὀρσεῦς Ψ[, 3 ἀπὸ] τιμῆς ζύτου οὗ εἴλ(ηφεν) εἰς . . . [, 4 ἐ]πὶ λ(όγου) δραχ(μὰς) ὀκτὼι . . . Cf. xlvii. 4 lines. Incomplete, the beginnings and ends of lines being lost. Written on the *verso*, the *recto* being blank. 14·2 x 5·9 cm.

CCXX. On the *recto* part of two columns of a list of landed property. Second century. On the *verso* an account, incomplete, mentioning μονόχωρα and δίχωρα; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I, p. 763. 17·3 x 19·4 cm.

CCXXI. Certificate of work done at the embankments from Mesore 10–14 by Athenas; cf. lxxvii–lxxix. Dated in the first year of Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Ant. Aug. and Imp. Caes. L. Aurel. Verus Aug. (A. D. 161). Practically complete. 10 lines. 7·4 x 5·6.

CCXXII. Beginning of a document addressed Φιλίππῳ αἰγιαλοφύλακι Ἀρσινοΐ[του. Third century. 10 incomplete lines. 10·5 x 10·2 cm.

CCXXIII. Acknowledgement by six πρεσβύτεροι of Autodike of the receipt of

120 drachmae on account from the κτηνοτρόφοι. Dated in the tenth year of Aurelius Anton. Caes. the lord, Arm. Med. Parth. Max., Pachon (A.D. 170). Practically complete. 15 lines. 11·6 x 6·3 cm.

CCXXIV. Letter from [Νί]γναρος to his son Zosimus, announcing the dispatch of ἐπιμήνια καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ χαλκόν, &c. Second or third century A.D. Imperfect. 11 lines. 8·6 x 8.

CCXXV. Beginning of a letter (?) from Dionysius to a θησαυροφύλαξ. Second or third century. 3 lines. 3·7 x 6·7 cm.

CCXXVI. Part of a taxing account beginning ε (ἔτους), Πτολεμαεὶς Δρυμοῦ, Πολυδεύκης Ἐ . . ιγονο( ) παραδίσων ψν, ἐπαρουρίου Ἀφ, ναυβίου νν. Cf. xli and lvi. 7, note. First century A.D. 7 lines. 11 x 9·2 cm.

CCXXVII. Fragment of a list of payments (lost) from different villages. Those which occur are Ἀνδριάντων, Ἀττίνου, Βουβάστου, and [. .]ωψενε, followed by γ(ίνονται) Ἡρακλ(είδου) μερ(ίδος) (δραχμαὶ) . . . Third century. 6 lines. 7·7 x 8·7 cm.

CCXXVIII. Part of the conclusion of a document ending εὐτύχει (? a petition), dated in the second year of Valerianus and Gallienus Augusti, Pauni (A.D. 255). 10 lines. 15·9 x 6 cm.

CCXXIX. Receipt for the payment of 32 dr. 24 obols, mentioning the twentieth year of Lucius [Aurel.] Commodus Caesar the lord (A.D. 180–1). Incomplete. 11 lines. 26·5 x 6·8 cm.

CCXXX. Parts of two columns of a report (probably of πράκτορες to the strategus) of sums paid for taxes by different villages. The second column is / συντ(αξίμου) Βξη (ἥμισυ?), νικῆς ιβ (ἔτους) Θεαδελφε(ίας) νβ, Σενθυπαὶ ιγ, Ἀνδρομαχ(ίδος) α (ὀβολός), Ψινάχεως α (ὀβολός), [Π]υρραίας α (ὀβολός), Φιλαγρίδο(ς) . . Cf. xli. and xlii. Dated in the twelfth year of Tiberius Caesar Aug., Pachon (A.D. 26). 22 lines. 17 x 16·2 cm.

CCXXXI. List of names with amounts of money in three columns. On the *verso* part of five columns of a similar list dated in the thirteenth year (of Augustus), Pachon (B.C. 17). 22·5 x 33 cm.

CCXXXII. Account in two columns divided into sections, each headed ἐποίκ(ιον ?) followed by a proper name, e.g. Σουχίωνος. Below are names with amounts in drachmae. Complete, but effaced in parts. Late first century B.C. On the *verso* a short account also concerning ἐποίκ(ια). The papyrus was found tied up with ci, ccxxxiii and ccxxxiv. 21·6 x 13 cm.

CCXXXIII. Five columns of a list of persons with amounts in silver drachmae, dated in the twelfth year (of Augustus), Pachon (B.C. 18). 21·5 x 26 cm.

CCXXXIV. Short account of names and amounts in drachmae. Late first

century B.C. Complete. 3 lines. On the *verso* another account obliterated. 7·5 x 6·2 cm.

CCXXXV. Beginnings of lines of an order from Apollonius to pay (*μέτρησον*, cf. xviii *a*) a sum of wheat to a *ὑοφορβός* and others. First century B.C. 11 lines. 16·1 x 6·2 cm.

CCXXXVI. Fragments of a lease of land dated in Dius of the 2[.]th year of Ptolemy 'the god Neos Dionysus Philop[ator Philadelphus]' (B.C. 61–52). Parts of 23 lines. 9·5 x 7·4 cm.

CCXXXVII. Notice addressed to Didymus, [*βα(σιλικὸς)*] *γρ(αμματεύς)* of the division of Themistes, by Sisois, announcing the death of his maternal uncle. Same formula as xxix. Second or third century. Nearly complete. 10 lines. 10·5 x 15·2 cm.

CCXXXVIII. Acknowledgement by Char[es ?] of the return of a loan of 200 drachmae from Soterichus. Dated in the first year of Antoninus and Verus [the lords] Augusti (A.D. 161). Nearly complete. 12 lines. 23 x 10·3 cm.

CCXXXIX. Fragment of a return addressed to Flavius Apollo[nius], strategus of the division of Heraclides (cf. B. G. U. 194), by the *πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν* of their receipts for a month in the seventeenth year of Marcus and Commodus (A.D. 176–7). The first two headings are *λαογρ(αφίας)* and *μαγδωλ . . . .* Cf. xli and xlii (*a*). Beginnings of 15 lines. 12·5 x 7·3 cm.

CCXL. Contract for a loan of three artabae of *ῥαφάνινου* to Achilles. At the top are four lines giving an abstract of the loan, with numerous abbreviations, a blank space being left for the name of the lender. The middle of the papyrus is blank. At the bottom are the acknowledgement of the borrower and the docket of the *γραφεῖον* of Euhemeria. Dated in the seventh year. Late second or first century B.C. 15 lines. Imperfect. 29·2 x 11·8 cm. ccxl and ccxli were found in the temple.

CCXLI. Five fragments of a document mentioning *Σούχ ?]ου θεοῦ μεγάλου μεγάλου*; cf. p. 45. Second century.

CCXLII. Receipt for 144 *λίτραι Ἰταλικαί* of hay (?). Fourth century. Nearly complete. 8 lines. 10·3 x 10·3 cm.

CCXLIII. Beginnings of 15 lines of a list of names and payments. Early fourth century. On the *verso* beginnings of 20 lines of a list of villages and persons. Ptolemais *Δρυμοῦ*, Argias, Alexandri Nesus, Archelais, Theadelphia, Euhemeria, and Dionysias occur. 18·2 x 6 cm.

CCXLIV. Receipt for *τέλος μόσχ(ου)* [*θυομένου*] at Socnopaei Nesus, paid to a nomarch through Didymus, *λογευτής* (?), by Gaius Papirius Maximus. Cf. B. G. U. 383. Dated in the reign of Marcus and Verus (A.D. 161–9).

Written on the *verso*, the *recto* being blank. Nearly complete. 4·7 × 10·4 cm.

CCXLV. List of γεωργοί, with amounts of arourae, headed κατ' ἄνδρ[α γεω]ργῶν περο . . πεδίου Εὐη(μερείας) [διὰ] τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλωτερίδος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος [(ἔτους) Α]ὐρηλίων Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Κομμόδου [τῶν κυρί]ων Σεβαστῶν. A.D. 176–180. Much mutilated. 20 × 13·4 cm.

CCXLVI. Account of payments headed ἔχθεσις ποτισμ(ῶν) ἐλ[α]ιώ(νων) and consisting of a list of persons with amounts in drachmae, generally 2 or 4. Amongst the names occur four sitologi, a πράκτωρ, a ναύτης, a gymnasiarch, an ἰβιοστολ(ιστής?), and a γρ(αμματεὺς) τοπαρχῶ(ν). This and ccxlvii–cclxxvii were among the Gemellus find; cf. p. 262. About A.D. 100. Incomplete, the end being lost. 18 lines. 12·1 × 7·2 cm.

CCXLVII. Another account, in the same hand as ccxlvi, headed ἔχθεσις Εὐημερ[είας ὀ]φειλῆς. There follows a list of names and amounts of corn and money, with interest sometimes added. About A.D. 100. 14 lines. 9·6 × 10·7 cm.

CCXLVIII. Letter from Gemellus to Epagathus, inquiring whether he had recovered from a fever (πυρεσσός), and giving directions about farms at Dionysias and Psinachis. About A.D. 100. Nearly complete, but effaced in parts. 28 lines. 21·5 × 9 cm.

CCXLIX. Letter from Gemellus to Epagathus asking for ἐργατικὰ κτήνη to be sent, and giving other directions. About A.D. 100. Nearly complete. 21 lines. 16·6 × 10·8 cm.

CCL. Letter from Sabinus to Epagathus. About A.D. 100. Incomplete, the ends of lines being lost. 32 lines. 21·6 × 9·2 cm.

CCLI. Beginning of a petition to Gaius Minucius Italus, praefect, from Diodorus, an ἀρχέφοδος of Dionysias and δημόσιος καὶ οὐσιακὸς γεωργός. Early second century. 7 lines. 8·4 × 11·1 cm.

CCLII. Letter from Gemellus to his brother M. Antonius (?) Maximus, asking him to send Epagathus. About A.D. 100. Much mutilated. 14 lines. 22·7 × 10·4 cm.

CCLIII. Parts of three columns of an account of expenditure on a farm, chiefly in connexion with ταυρικά and βοικά; cf. cii. About A.D. 100. 19·1 × 20·7 cm.

CCLIV. Letter from Gemellus to Epagathus, dated in the seventh year of Trajanus Caesar the lord, Pharmouthi (A.D. 104). Much mutilated. 32 lines. 21·8 × 8·7 cm.

CCLV. Beginning of a letter from Gemellus to Sabinus. About A.D. 100. 12 lines. 9·5 × 10·7 cm.

CCLVI. Tax-receipt, much mutilated. Payments for *συντ(άξιμον*, cf. xlv) and *μερισμ(ὸς) ἀπόρων* (1 dr. 2½ obols; cf. liv) occur. Dated in the seventeenth year [of Trajan or Hadrian], *Φαῶφι μετ(ὰ λόγον*, cf. liii. 2, note) *ζ*. 9 lines. 11 × 7·7 cm.

CCLVII. Two fragments of an account of payments of wheat for different purposes. The villages Dionysias, *Βουκόλων*, and Psinachis occur. About A.D. 100. Fragment (*a*) 20 lines. 13·5 × 10 cm.

CCLVIII. Account in two columns of payments of metretae of oil to various persons, headed *λόγος παρ]αδόσεω(ς) ἐλαια . . . . κ( ) ἐν κώμῃ [Εὐημ]ερείᾳ ἀπὸ καρπῶ(ν) τοῦ θ (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ* (A.D. 124–5). Incomplete. 34 lines. 18·1 × 6·1 cm.

CCLIX. Letter from Gemellus to Epagathus, dated in the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96). Complete, but much obliterated. 28 lines. 27 × 12 cm.

CCLX. Contract for a loan of money from Gemellus through Epagathus. Written at the village of *Ἀφροδίτη Βερνίκη* in the thirteenth year of Imp. [Caes. Nerva] Trajanus Aug. Germ. Dac. (A.D. 109–110). At the end is the docket of the *γραφεῖον* of Euhemeria (?). On the *verso* traces of a red stamp. Incomplete. 42 lines. 23·2 × 8·8 cm.

CCLXI. Beginning of a letter from Sabinus to his father Gemellus. About A.D. 100. 7 lines. 8·2 × 11·7 cm.

CCLXII. Tax-receipt for payments of *ζυτηρ(ᾶς) κατ' ἄνδρα* by Anch[oph]is, viz. Choiach 26 2 dr., Mecheir 29 2 dr., Phamenoth 27 1 dr., Pharmouthi 24 2 dr., Pauni 26 3 dr. 2 obols. Dated in the seventh year of Imp. Caes. Ne[rva Trajanus] Aug. Germ. Dac. (A.D. 104). Complete. 6 lines. Below it are 3 mutilated lines of a similar receipt referring to Anchophis' brother Mysthes, and beginnings of 9 lines of another receipt for the same tax. Cf. xlvii (*a*). Written on the *verso* of an obliterated document. 10·5 × 17·5 cm.

CCLXIII. On the *recto* ends of 13 lines of a second century document. On the *verso* a list for payments for taxes:—*Χαρίτιων Δείου κάτ(οικος?) (ἄρουραι) β ϛ' (?) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) . . , η' προ(σμετρούμενα) γ' ιβ', Ἡρακλείδη[ς] ἀμπ(ελώνων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) α, η⁻ προσ(μετρούμενα) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) δ', ἐπιβο(λῆς) (ἀρούρας) γ' (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β ιβ', προ(σμετρούμενα) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) γ'*. On *ἐπιβολή* cf. lxxxi. 9, note. Complete. 15·6 × 4·9 cm.

CCLXIV. Acknowledgement by the sitologi of Apias and other villages of the receipt of 4 (or 40?) artabae of wheat [*εἰς? Β]ελλήνου Φιλοπ(άτορος) κατοίκ(ων) Εὐ[ημερείας?* Same formula as lxxxi–lxxxiv; cf. introd. to lxxxi. Dated in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138). Imperfect, having lost the beginnings and ends of lines. 10 lines. 10·8 × 7 cm.

CCLXV–CCLXXIII. Incomplete letters of Gemellus. About A. D. 100.

CCLXXIV–CCLXXVII. Incomplete letters of Sabinus. About A. D. 100.

CCLXXVIII. Receipt for 16 drachmae of ῥυπαροῦ ἀργυρίου εἰς λ(όγον) λαογ(ραφίας) of the seventeenth year. The formula is the same as that of ccciii, which is a receipt issued by the same person. Dated in the eighteenth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pachon (A. D. 153). Practically complete. 9 lines. 9 × 5·8 cm.

CCLXXIX. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα paid for λαογραφία of the second year at the ἄμφοδον Μοή(ρεως) by Polydeuces. Dated in the twenty-second year of M. Aurel. Commodus Ant. Aug., Mesore (A. D. 182). Cf. xlix–lii. Practically complete. 6 lines. 15·9 × 8·3 cm.

CCLXXX. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα paid for λαογραφία of the fourteenth year at the ἄμφοδον Διον(υσίου) Τόπ(ων) by Castor. Dated in the fourteenth year of Aurelius Ant. Caes. the lord, Epeiph, ἀριθ(μήσεως) Pauni (A. D. 174). Practically complete. 5 lines. 9·6 × 6·7 cm.

CCLXXXI. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα, for λαογραφία of the third year at the ἄμφοδον Λι(βός). Dated in the third year of Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Ant. Aug., and Imp. Caes. L. Aurel. Verus Aug. (A. D. 162–3). Nearly complete. 7 lines. 9·3 × 10·8 cm.

CCLXXXII. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα, for λαογραφία. Dated in the reign of Marcus and Commodus (A. D. 176–180). Nearly complete, but much effaced. 7 lines. 8·3 × 9 cm.

CCLXXXIII. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα, for λαογραφία of the seventh year at the ἄμφοδον Διο(νυσίου) Τόπ(ων). Dated in the seventh year of [Antoninus and Ve]rus the lords [Augusti] (A. D. 166–7). Much mutilated. 7 lines. 10·4 × 10·5 cm.

CCLXXXIV. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα, for λαογραφία of the twenty-first (?) year. Dated in the twenty-second year of Imp. T. Ael. Hadr. Antoninus Aug. Pius, Thoth (A. D. 158). Nearly complete. 7 lines. 9·4 × 8·1 cm.

CCLXXXV. Short account headed λῆμ⟨μ⟩α Εὐημερ(είας) (πυροῦ) . . . Below are names with amounts preceded by δρο, i. e. artabae δρό(μῳ); cf. ci. The fraction ⅛ occurs, as in ci. Late first century B. C. Complete. 6 lines. 10·6 × 10·2 cm.

CCLXXXVI. Certificate of work done on the embankments at Euhemeria by Menches in the reign of Tib. Claudius Caes. Aug. Germ. Imp. (A. D. 40–54). Cf. lxxvii–lxxix. Incomplete. 7 lines. 6·4 × 9·1 cm.

CCLXXXVII. Certificate for five days' work at the embankments ἐν τῇ Φολ( ) διώ(ρυγι) by Sathepas. Dated in the sixteenth year of Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadr. Antoninus Aug. Pius, Phamenoth (A. D. 153). Complete. 8 lines. 6·3 × 6·8 cm.

CCLXXXVIII. Certificate for two days' work at the embankments (cf. lxxviii. 5). Dated in the tenth year of Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadr. Antoninus Aug. Pius (A. D. 147). Practically complete. 7 lines. 8·9 × 7 cm.

CCLXXXIX. Certificate for five days' work at the embankments ἐν] χώ(ματι ?) Δρυ( ). Dated in the thirty-second year of L. Aurelius Commodus Caesar the lord (A. D. 192). Incomplete, the ends of lines being lost. 6 lines. 4·2 × 6·5 cm.

CCXC. Certificate for five days' work at the embankments ἐν τ( ) πρωτ( ) Χάλικος Εὐη(μερείας) by Sisois. Dated in the third year of L. Septimius Severus Pertinax Aug. (A. D. 195). Nearly complete. 6 lines. 5·5 × 5·5 cm.

CCXCI. Two incomplete columns of a taxing list. The entries consist of (*a*) personal name, (*b*) L τρ^L (cf. cccxxxv; τρ' probably means τράπεζα), (*c*) months and payments, generally 1 dr. 1 or 2 obols. Second century. 20·6 × 23·5 cm.

CCXCII. On the *recto* part of a taxing list, on the *verso* part of a register of land. Second or third century. 30 lines. 33·6 × 17 cm.

CCXCIII. Two fragments of a return, similar to xli, from πράκτορες to a strategus, concerning λαογραφία and other taxes. Dated in the reign of Antoninus (A.D. 138–161). 18 lines in fragment (*a*), which measures 14 × 8·2 cm.

CCXCIV. Two incomplete columns of a list of abstracts of contracts. Second century. 40 lines in Col. I. 21 × 17 cm.

CCXCV. Fragment of an official letter from the strategus (?) of the division of Heraclides concerning the transport of corn. Third century. 23 lines. 17·5 × 9 cm.

CCXCVI. Beginning and concluding part of a petition to Apollonius, strategus of the division of [The]mistes, relating to the recovery of a loan. The document ends διὸ ἐπὶ σὲ τὴν καταφ[υ]γὴν ποιησάμενος ἀξιῶ ἐάν σοι φαίνηται ἀντιλήμψεως τυχεῖν πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαί με ἐπιμένιν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ διευθύνων τὰ δημόσια. Dated in the sixteenth year of Trajanus Optimus Caesar the lord, Epeiph (A.D. 113). 30 lines. 17·8 × 8·9 cm.

CCXCVII. Fragment of a copy of official correspondence. Second century. 23 lines. 24 × 10·5 cm.

CCXCVIII. On the *recto* parts of 13 lines of a taxing list. First century.

On the *verso* an account of payments in χό(ες ?), headed προσγρ(αφ) τοῦ πε⟨μ⟩πομένου δι(ὰ) Ψεναμο(ύνιος) η . . . στε βουκολο( ) τῶν ἀπὸ Τῦβι. Dated in the fourth year of Imp. Caes. Domitianus Aug. Germ. (A.D. 84–5). Complete. 11 lines. 15·1 × 13 cm.

CCXCIX. Return of persons ἐπὶ ξένης in the seventeenth year of Tiberius Caesar Aug. (A.D. 30–1). Incomplete. 28·9 × 12·7 cm.

CCC. Part of an account of corn, beginning εἰσὶν αἱ εἰσαχθεῖσαι . . . The entries are made under the names of various persons, e. g. Φαρίωνος ὁμοίως, (ἀρτάβαι) λδ, ἐγλόγου (ἀρτάβαι) πδ, / (ἀρτάβαι) ρ[ιη], τούτων ἐκβολ( ) (ἀρτάβαι) ξϛ, λοιπ(αὶ) ἐν ταμίωι (ἀρτάβαι) νβ. Late first century A.D. 34 lines. 25 × 10·4 cm.

CCCI. Contract for the sale of two horses θηλείας σιτοχρόους for apparently 440 drachmae, from Heraclides to a woman named Didarous. Dated in the seventh year of Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Anton. Aug. Arm. Med. Parth. Max. and Imp. Caes. L. Aurel. Verus Aug. Arm. Med. Parth. Max., Epeiph (A.D. 167). Imperfect. 23 lines. 23 × 13·4 cm.

(*d*) *Wadfa.*

CCCII. Application from certain μαχαιροφόροι asking ἐ]ὰν φαίνηται σύνταξιν δοθῆναι ἡμῖν τὸ μέτρημα καὶ τὸ ὀψώνιον τοῦ Θωὺθ καὶ Φαῶφι ἀνδρῶν πέντε. Second century B.C. Practically complete. 5 lines. 17 × 12 cm.

CCCIII. Receipt for λαογραφία similar to cclxxviii, headed ἀντίγραφον χειρογρ(άφου) συμβόλου. Ἑρμίας γραμματεὺς πρακ(τόρων) κ. τ. λ. About A.D. 153 (cf. cclxxviii). Incomplete, the end being lost. 5 lines. 4·6 × 8 cm.

CCCIV. List, headed Φιλ]ωτερίδος, of πρεσβύτεροι in the eleventh year. Lines 6–9 Ἰσχυρᾶς Σωτηρίχου γεουχ(ῶν) ἐν τῇ κώμῃ γενάμ(ενος) ἐπιτηρητ(ὴς) γενηματογρ(αφουμένων) ὑπαρχ(όντων). Cf. xxvi and cvi. 9. Second century. Imperfect. 11 lines. 9 × 9·8 cm.

CCCV. Receipt for rent of land near Philoteris paid by Hermes, γεωργός. Third century. Incomplete, the end being lost. 11 lines. 9·5 × 6·1 cm.

CCCVI. Receipt for payments, generally 20 drachmae, in various months from Pachon onwards, for some tax at Philoteris upon the γενή(ματα). Dated in the eighth year of Imp. Caes. [T. Ael.] Hadr. Antoninus Aug. Pius (A.D. 145). Incomplete. 8 lines. 10·3 × 6·5 cm.

CCCVII. Conclusion of a lease of land at Philoteris, dated in the sixteenth year of Imp. [Caes.] Traj. Hadrianus [Aug.], Epeiph (A.D. 132). Parts of 31 lines. 17·5 × 6·6 cm.

CCCVIII. On the *recto* an account of payments in copper and silver, the former being converted into silver at the ratio of 350 : 1 ; see introd. to

xliv. Late first century B.C. 15 lines. On the *verso* part of an account, dated in the second year. 14·1 × 10·3 cm.

(*e*) *Harît.*

CCCIX. Parts of two columns containing the ends of Homer, *Il.* ii. 611–646, and beginnings of 647–683, in a semi-uncial hand. 637 μιλτοπα]ρειοι, 645 ηγεμον]ευε, 647 Μειλητ[ον, 666 υἱες, 671 αγ]εν, 678 Φιδιππ[ο]ς, 680 των δε, 681 οσοι, 682 Τρηχι]ν ενεμ[οντο, 683 Φθειη[ν. Occasional stops, accents, and breathings occur. Second century. On the *verso* traces of some second or third century cursive writing. Height 27 cm.

CCCX. Fragment containing a few letters from the ends of Homer, *Od.* xi. 557–573, and the first halves of 588–610, written in medium-sized uncials. Late first or second century. 588 δενδρεα θ, 591 ιθ]υσι, 596 ανω θεσκε, 600 εγ μελεων, 603 θαλιης, 604 omitted. On the *verso* a few letters in second century cursive. 12·3 × 7·6 cm.

CCCXI. (*a*) On the *recto* ends of 9 lines from some philosophical treatise. Line 1] αἰσχύνονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, 2] αἱ κακίαι ὅταν φανεραὶ ὦσιν. Written in a large uncial hand. On the *verso* parts of two columns of a similar work in the same (?) hand. (*b*) On the *recto* beginnings of 5 lines in a different hand; on the *verso* parts of 7 lines in the same hand as the *verso* of (*a*). About the second century.

CCCXII. Fragment of a commentary on Homer, *Od.* xxi. Quotations from lines 218–234 occur. The name Δημήτριος is mentioned in connexion with line 231. Written in small uncial hand. Late first or second century. Parts of 33 lines. 20 × 5 cm.

CCCXIII. On the *recto* beginnings of 14 lines of a third century document. On the *verso* parts of two columns of a work apparently concerning hunting, in an uncial hand resembling that of the 'Logia' (Ox. Pap. I. 1). Line 1]βοθη κυνη-, 2]ων καὶ δορ-, 3 [κάδων καὶ ἀλ]ωπέκων, 5]ρων ἐλάφων. 20·5 × 7·6 cm.

CCCXIV. Receipt for 16 drachmae paid by Maron ὑπὲρ . . . δωρεᾶς καὶ . . . and 12 more ὑπὲρ ἀποτάκτου, and two other payments of 8 drachmae and one of 16. Dated in the fourteenth year. Second century. Nearly complete. 12 lines. 10·5 × 7 cm.

CCCXV. Part of a receipt for various payments of taxes, including συντάξιμον (cf. xlv). Dated in the sixteenth year of Antoninus (A.D. 152–3). 9 lines, of which the beginnings are lost. 8 × 5·4 cm.

CCCXVI. Receipt for various taxes paid by two persons in the eighth year (of Trajan or Hadrian probably). Payments for συντ(αξίμου), ὑικ(ῆς)

1 dr. 1 obol, μαγ[δώλ(ων)], and μερισμ(οῦ) ἀπ(όρων) occur. μετ(ὰ λόγον) is inserted in each case between the month and the day; cf. xlv and liv. Incomplete. 8 lines. The ends of lines of a similar tax-receipt preceding it are preserved. On the *verso* parts of two more much effaced receipts. 10·4 × 14 cm.

CCCXVII. Receipt, similar to cccxvi, for various taxes. Payments occur for ὑικ(ῆς) 1 dr. 1 obol, μαγδώλ(ων) 2½ obols, δεσ(μο)φυλ(ακίας) ½ obol 2 chalci, ἐπιστ(ατικοῦ) ποτ(αμῶν) 1½ obols. Cf. liv. Dated in the seventh year of Imp. Caes. Traj. Hadrianus Aug. (A.D. 122–3). Incomplete. 9 lines. On the *verso* another tax-receipt (?) much effaced. 10 × 11·4 cm.

CCCXVIII. Receipt for a payment in wheat (?) to the πρά(κ)τωρ σιτικῶν of Theadelphia. Dated in the twenty-fourth year of M. Aurel. Commodus Antoninus Aug., Epeiph (A.D. 184). Nearly complete. 8 lines. 13 × 7·3 cm.

CCCXIX. Copies of various documents; the first, which is headed ἀντίγρ(αφον) [δ]ικαιωμάτων ἐπικρ[ίσεως] is an application from Thermouthion, the descendant of a κάτοικος, for the ἐπίκρισις of her son, whose birth was returned in the eighteenth year of Trajan; the second is a copy of a κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή addressed to Hierax, strategus, and Ti[magenes, βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς], in A.D. 161–2; the third is a copy of a κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή made fourteen years earlier. In the margin at the top is ἀντί[γρ(αφον) Σουχάμμω[νος, so probably the documents all concerned him. Late second century A.D. 26 lines, of which the ends are lost. 13·1 × 6·2 cm.

CCCXX. Beginning of an account headed ἔχθεσις λοιπ(ῶν) εἰς Παχὼν κϛ, followed by names and amounts in obols. Second or third century. 4 lines. 4·5 × 9 cm.

CCCXXI. Part of a receipt for payments of taxes in different months of the ninth year of Nero Claudius Caes. Aug. Germ. Imp. (A.D. 62–3). The month Neroneus Sebastus is placed between Neos Sebastus (Athur) and Tubi; cf. cliii. 9 incomplete lines. 11·1 × 15·5 cm.

CCCXXII. Fragments containing parts of two columns of an edict or important official document, including the phrase οἱ θεοὶ πρόγονοι τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων ἐφ . [| τοῖς παιδίοις τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους. Reference is made to an ἀπόδειξις of Lupus, the ex-praefect, i. e. M. Rutilius Lupus, praefect in A.D. 114–7. Second century. On the *verso* some late second century writing. 19 × 23·8 cm.

CCCXXIII. Letter from Chaer[emon ?] to his mother, requesting her to let part of a house, and announcing the dispatch of a key, &c. Second or third century A.D. Incomplete. 26 lines. 22·5 × 9·1 cm.

CCCXXIV. Letter from Philoxenion to Theotimus (cf. xi and xii). Late second century B.C. Incomplete. 33 lines. 33 × 9·5 cm.

CCCXXV. Part of a petition probably to the king and queen (cf. xi and xii). Late second century B.C. 27 lines, of which the beginnings are lost. 23·7 × 19·3 cm.

CCCXXVI. On the *recto* account in three columns, two of which are nearly complete, mainly concerning *χόρτος* and *ἄρακος*. On the *verso* parts of four columns of a money-account mentioning the thirtieth year (of Augustus, B.C. 1–A.D. 1). 29·4 × 28 cm.

CCCXXVII. Receipt for a series of payments, generally 180 drachmae, in different months, into the bank of Demetrius for *ζυτηρά*. Late first century A.D. Incomplete. 9 lines. Above these are beginnings of 4 lines in the same hand, and remains of a preceding column. On the *verso* an account. 21·4 × 25·5 cm.

CCCXXVIII. List of persons, each line beginning with *κλή(ρος?)* and ending with *καὶ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας?) ὁμοίως*, e.g. line 3 *κλή(ρος) Ἰσχυρίωνος τοῦ Θέωνος καὶ Ἀλεξ( ) ὁμο[ίως*, 9 *κλή(ρος) Νεφερῶτος τοῦ Φασάιτος καὶ Ἀλεξ( ) ὁμοίως*. Cf. cccxxxviii. One column of 41 lines, nearly complete, and traces of a preceding column. Second century. On the *verso* part of a list of persons. 30·5 × 12·8 cm.

CCCXXIX. On the *recto* parts of two columns, the first a list of persons with amounts of wheat and barley, the second (beginnings of lines only) being a list of villages—*Μούχεως, Κυνῶν, Θεογονίδος, Βουκόλ(ων), Φνεωτ( ), Ἰβίω[νος, Ταλεί, Καλλιφα[. ., Βερνικί[δος, Ἱερᾶς, Πτολεμ[αίδος, Κερκεσή(φεως), Βουσίρεως, Κερκεσίρε[ως*. Second century. On the *verso* part of a list of persons with their ages, written in red ink. 15·9 × 13·8 cm.

CCCXXX. Receipt for *ἀριθ(μητικοῦ) κα[τ(οίκων)]* of the fifteenth year. Dated in the fifteenth year of Trajan (A.D. 104–5). Imperfect, the ends of lines being lost. 8 lines. 15·9 × 7 cm.

CCCXXXI. List of payments to *ἐργ(άταις)* at the rate of 9 obols per man; cf. cii. Dated in the tenth year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord (A.D. 125–6). Imperfect. On the *verso* an account of payments for various articles, e.g. *ὑγροῦ λίτρων, ξηρᾶς* 16 obols, *ἁλιχευτρίδο[ς, σιλελια, ἀποσφηνομα[, βίβλους* 2 obols, *ἴρια, ξηρομύρου, μύρου, Κοπρῆτος, ὀστοιra*. 20 × 12·7 cm.

CCCXXXII. Beginning of a return from the sitologi of Magais, headed *κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν μεμετρημένων ἡμῖν τῶν ἀπὸ μηνὸς Παχὼν ἕως Μεσορή* of the fifteenth year of Marcus *ἀπὸ γενη(μάτων) τοῦ αὐ[τοῦ ἔτους*; cf. lxxxvi (*a*). A.D. 174–5. 8 lines. 9·5 × 13·8 cm.

CCCXXXIII. Conclusion of a document ending . . . *ἐξ ὧν ἀνηλώθη τιμῆς κριθ(ῆς)*

at 5 dr. the artaba, 7 dr. 3 obols, *α . . . .* 4 obols, *ἀχύρου* 3 obols, *τιμῆς ἀθλάσ(τ)ου* 2 obols, *ζυμουργοῦ* 4 dr., *ψήφῳ καὶ κεράμου* 3 obols, / *ἀργ(υρίου)* 13 dr. 3 obols, *λοιπ(αί)* 9 dr., *ἃς καὶ δι[αγράψω ?] ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν τρ(άπεζαν). Σαραπίων ἐπιδέδωκα καθὼς π(ρόκειται).* Dated in the reign of Antoninus (A.D. 138–161). 12 lines. On the *verso* part of an account. 10·5 x 8·8 cm.

CCCXXXIV. Account headed *λόγος ἐνοικίων Κερκευσίρι[ο]ς ὠφειλόντων ἰς θων (=Θὼθ ?) τοῦ ιδ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) πδ.* Second or third century A.D. Practically complete. 18 lines. 16·4 x 10·6 cm.

CCCXXXV. Six fragments, containing on the *recto* a list in several columns of names in alphabetical order, with similar entries after each, e.g. *Ἁρποκρατίων Ὠριγένους τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου μητ(ρὸς) Ἰσιδώρας (ἐτῶν) μγ, τρ( ) ιε (ἔτους) Ἐπεὶφ ς (δραχμαὶ) κ. Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων Σ[ου]χίωνος τοῦ Σαμβᾶ μητρὸ(ς) Κλαυδίας τῆς κ(αὶ) Γαλ[α]τείας ἀπὸ Θεσμοφορίου (ἐτῶν) να, τρ( ) ιε (ἔτους) Μεσορὴ β (δραχμαὶ) ις, κη (δραχμαὶ) δ.* Probably a list of payments for poll-tax to the *τράπεζα* (?); cf. ccxci. Second century. On the *verso* a list of persons in alphabetical order and payments in corn, and accounts of a sitologus similar to lxxxvi.

CCCXXXVI. On the *recto* fragment of an official letter in two columns. Second century. On the *verso* four columns of a list of persons and payments in artabae of wheat or *σάκκοι*, no doubt an account of a sitologus (cf. lxxxvi). *ὑπ(ὲρ) δημ(οσίων)* occurs several times. 15·5 x 17 cm.

CCCXXXVII. Parts of two incomplete columns of a philosophical work concerning the gods. The first column has lost from three to six letters at the beginnings of most lines; of the second, only two or three letters of the beginnings of lines are preserved. Col. I. 3–5 *τοῖς θεοῖς εἱλαστη[ρίο]υς θυσίας ἀξιω[θέ?]ντες ἐπιτελεῖσθαι*, 16–22 *δεῖ τῶν [ἀν]θρώπων ἄρχειν [τῶν] πράξεων ἐκεί[νου]ς δὲ εὐθὺς ἐφέπεσθαι, οὐκ ἀτάκτως μέντοι ἀλλ' εἱμα[ρ]μέ[νως]. τοῦ γὰρ ἀστόχως . . .* Written in a small uncial hand. Second century. 29 lines in Col. I. 17 x 8·4 cm.

CCCXXXVIII. Fragment of an account concerning corn. After a list of six persons and amounts paid by them on one day (the twenty-fourth) comes / *τῆς ἡμ(έρας)* art. $552\frac{11}{24}$, *ὧν γενή(ματα)* art. $115\frac{1}{2}$, *Σενέκ( )* art. 140, *Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας ?* cf. cccxxviii) art. 160, *Γάλ(λου ?*, cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. 265) art. $68\frac{11}{24}$, *Μαρκ( ) . .* On the twenty-fifth the entries are *[κλ]ήρου Ἡρακλήου Μαρκ( )* art. $126\frac{1}{2}$, *φορέτρων κληρούχ(ων)* art. $4\frac{1}{4}$, &c. Second century. 12 lines. On the *verso* parts of two columns of another account. 9 x 16 cm.

CCCXXXIX. Fragment of a list of payments in kind upon *σφραγῖδες* of land, e.g. *ιβ σφρ(αγὶς) νότ(ου) καὶ ἀπ(ηλιώτου)* L *ἀνὰ μ(έσον) ὄντ(ος) ἐσπ(αρμένου) ἐδ(άφους), β[ο(ρρᾶ) . . . καὶ] τὰ γ̄* (cf. lxxxvi. 5) *(ἄρουρα)* $1\frac{1}{2}$, *(πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι)*

$2\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$, κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) $3\frac{1}{2}$, φακοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) . . , δι(ὰ) γεωργ(οῦ?) Παππίω(νος) Παππίω(νος). γίτ(ονες) νότ(ου) [καὶ ἀπ(ηλιώτου)] ἐσπ(αρμένα) ἐδ(άφη) καὶ ἄβροχ(ος), βο(ρρᾶ) καὶ λιβὸς ἐσπ(αρμένα) [ἐδ(άφη). Second century. 16 lines. On the *verso* ends of 4 lines of another account. 21 x 18 cm.

CCCXL. Two fragments, containing on the *recto* part of a list of κλῆ(ροι) numbered in order, with much abbreviated entries under each, apparently a list of the holders of parts of each κλῆρος with the amounts of their farms. Second century. On the *verso* part of a sitologus' account in several columns similar to lxxxvi, giving a list of payments on different days; e.g. Θεαδελ(φείας) δη(μοσίων) art. of wheat $4\frac{3}{4}$, δι(ὰ) η^) Φιλωτ(ερίδος) αἱ π(ροκείμεναι) art. $6\frac{1}{2}$, δι(ὰ) η^) Φιλωτερίδο(ς) $11\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$, Διονυσιάδο(ς) art. $4\frac{5}{8}$. γ̄ Ἀγχορῦμφος (*sic*) Ἀγχορύμφεως art. $106\frac{1}{2}$. / ἡ(μέρας) art. $106\frac{1}{2}$, δη(μόσια) $11\frac{1}{8}$ (?). Fragment (*a*) 20·3 x 23 cm.

CCCXLI. Receipt for various taxes, including ἁλός, ἐπαρο(υρίου) 750 (? obols), προσδ(ιαγραφόμενα) 60, κολ(λύβου) 30, [. . .]στ(   ) πα[ρ]αδ(είσων) . . , προσδ(ιαγραφόμενα) 50, κολ(λύβου) 30, συμβ(ολικά) . . , ναυβίου . . Cf. xli. Dated in the eleventh year of an emperor. Second century. Incomplete, the ends of lines being lost. 11 lines. 10·5 x 5·5 cm.

CCCXLII. Acknowledgement by the sitologi of Berenicis Αἰγιαλοῦ of a payment by Flavia . . . of $10\frac{1}{4}$ artabae of wheat for the Βερνικίδος ἰδιοκτή(του, sc. γῆς); cf. introd. to lxxxi. Dated in the seventh year of Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadr. Antoninus Aug. Pius (A.D. 143–4). Incomplete. 21 lines. 13·8 x 8·5 cm.

CCCXLIII. List of villages (Theadelphia, Polydeucia, and Argias occur) with amounts in kind, headed ὑπόστασις [. Second century. Incomplete, the ends of lines being lost. 12 lines. 11·5 x 5·7.

CCCXLIV. On the *recto* a list of abstracts of contracts headed] γραφί[ο]υ Πολυδευκ(είας) καὶ Σεθρεμπαεὶ τῆς Θεμίσ(του) μερίδ[ος. Late first or second century. Incomplete. 47 lines. On the *verso* a letter from Ptolemais to Papirianus. Second century. Nearly complete. 24 lines. 25 x 20·8 cm.

CCCXLV. Lease of a κλῆρος at Theadelphia, nearly complete, but much obliterated in parts. The land was to be returned καθαρ[ὸν] ἀπὸ θρύου καλάμου ἀγρώστεως δείσης πάσης (cf. C. P. R. 38. 21, B. G. U. 39. 21, &c., where these phrases occur without καθαρός). Written in the third year of Antoninus Caesar the lord (A.D. 139–140). 27 lines. 14 x 11·1 cm.

CCCXLVI. Contract appointing Dioscorus to sell at Alexandria a female slave on behalf of Aphrodous. Written at Ptolemais Euergetis in the eleventh year of Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Anton. Aug. Arm. Med. Parth. Max., Daisius = Pharmouthi (A.D. 171). Imperfect. 25 lines. 22·1 x 20·3 cm.

CCCXLVII. List of payments (lost) for various articles, e.g. τετρατίας, δισάκκια, σκληρίων, κερκικαρ[, δερμάτω[ν, ἐθρυοκελ( ), κελλαρείω[ν, σάκκων, ξυστρείας, σφερίας, καψα[, φελονῶν, χορτεῖ[, σιτει[, ναρθίκω[ν, περιστρο[. Second century. 23 lines, of which only the beginnings are preserved. 20·4 × 4·3 cm.

CCCXLVIII. Parts of two columns of a similar list of articles with prices (lost), e.g. σκεύη κλίνης, τιμῆς σιτοκέντρων χαλκ(ῶν), λεπάδνω(ν), κηροῦ εἰς πλησίνην, ῥητίνης ὁλκῆς, λαρμαρου ξηροῦ, πιστήνων, χάρακος εἰς ..., ἄνθρακο(ς). On the *verso* part of an account. Second or third century. 21 lines in Col. II. 19·6 × 13·2 cm.

CCCXLIX. Two receipts for poll-tax of the twelfth year (?) in the ἄμφοδον Ἱερᾶς Πύλης paid apparently by the same person through Diodorus, the first payment being 8 drachmae with [4] obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα, the second for 12 drachmae with 6 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα. The second receipt is dated in the thirteenth (?) year of Hadrian (A.D. 128–9); the date of the first is lost, but was probably the same. Incomplete. 10 lines altogether. 8·7 × 21·7 cm.

CCCL. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα paid for poll-tax of the tenth year by Harpocration. Dated in the tenth year of Aurelius Anton. Aug. Arm. Med. Parth. Max., Epeiph (A.D. 170). Practically complete. 7 lines. 8·8 × 8·9 cm.

CCCLI. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα paid by Saras for poll-tax of the twenty-fifth year. Dated in the twenty-fifth year of M. Aurel. Commodus Anton. Aug. (A.D. 184–5). Incomplete. 5 lines. 7 × 10 cm.

CCCLII. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα paid by Heraclas for poll-tax of the twenty-sixth year. Dated in the twenty-sixth year of M. Aurel. Commodus Anton. Aug., Athur (A.D. 185). Found with cccli. Incomplete. 5 lines. 6·8 × 9·7 cm.

CCCLIII. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα paid by Papontos (?) for poll-tax of the tenth (?) year. Late second century. Incomplete. 6 lines. 10·4 × 6·1 cm.

CCCLIV. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα paid by Zosimus for poll-tax of the 1[.]th year in the ἄμφοδον Μοή(ρεως). Second century. Incomplete. 6 lines. 7·5 × 7 cm.

CCCLV. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα paid by Philoxenus for poll-tax of the sixth year in the ἄμφοδον Ἱερᾶς Πύλης. Dated in the sixth year of Imp. Caes. Trajanus Hadrianus Aug., Epeiph (A.D. 122). On the *verso* Ἱερ(ᾶς) Πύλ(ης). Nearly complete. 6 lines. 10·4 × 12 cm.

CCCLVI. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα, for poll-tax of the seventeenth year. Dated in the seventeenth year of Imp. Caes. Trajanus Hadrianus Aug., Athur (?) (A. D. 132). Nearly complete. 5 lines. 10 × 8 cm.

CCCLVII. Receipt for 20 drachmae and 10 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα, for poll-tax in the reign of Antoninus (A. D. 138–161). Imperfect. 7 lines. 7·7 × 9·4 cm.

CCCLVIII. Receipt for 12 drachmae and 6 obols for προσδιαγραφόμενα, and subsequently for 8 drachmae and 4 obols, paid for poll-tax of the twenty-third year. Dated in the twenty-fourth year of Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadr. Antoninus Aug. Pius, Thoth (A. D. 160). Nearly complete. 8 lines. 9·8 × 11·5 cm.

CCCLIX. Certificate for five days' work, Thoth 5–9, εἰς χω(ματικὰ) ἔργ(α), at Theadelphia by Dius. Dated in the third year of Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadr. Antoninus Aug. Pius (A. D. 139). Complete. 8 lines. 7·7 × 9·8 cm.

CCCLX. Certificate for five days' work, Pauni 23–27, at the embankments of Theadelphia by Heron. Dated in the seventeenth year of L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augusti and P. Septimius Geta Caesar Aug. (A. D. 209). Nearly complete. 9 lines. 6·5 × 7·6 cm.

CCCLXI. Certificate for five days' work at the Ψιναλειτ( ) of Theadelphia (cf. lxxvii. 5). Dated in the reign of Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadr. Antoninus Aug. Pius (A. D. 138–161). Nearly complete. 8 lines. 7·1 × 8·6 cm.

CCCLXII. Certificate for five days' work at the embankments of Theadelphia by Sisois. Dated in the seventh year of Imp. Caes. Trajanus Hadrianus Aug. (A. D. 123). Nearly complete. 6 lines. 11 × 8·5 cm.

CCCLXIII. Two certificates, stuck together, for five days' work done at the embankments by various persons. Dated in the twenty-fifth year of M. Aurel. Commodus Anton. Aug. Pius (A. D. 185). Incomplete. 20 lines in Col. II. On the *verso* part of an account. 22 × 8·5 cm.

CCCLXIV. Certificate for five days' work at the embankments in Pauni. Dated in the sixteenth year of Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadr. Antoninus Aug. Pius (A. D. 153). Nearly complete. 7 lines. 7·7 × 7·1 cm.

CCCLXV. Certificate for five days' work on the embankments at the ἐξάθ(υρος) of Theadelphia. Dated in the eighteenth year of Imp. [Caes.] Trajanus Hadrianus Aug. (A. D. 134). Nearly complete. 8 lines. 6 × 6·2 cm.

CCCLXVI. Certificate for five days' work in Mesore at the embankments of Theadelphia. Dated in the third year of Imp. [Caes.] Trajanus Hadrianus Aug. (A. D. 119). Imperfect. 8 lines. 11·5 × 6·5 cm.

V. OSTRACA.

The 50 selected ostraca which we publish here possess a peculiar interest in being the first collection found in the Fayûm. Out of the 1600 texts in Prof. Wilcken's recently issued Corpus not one comes from that province, and the existence of only two or three Fayûm ostraca was known to him. That hitherto the comparative rarity of these objects in the Fayûm is largely due to the carelessness of native diggers has been already pointed out (p. 46). Our excavations at Ḳaṣr el Banât and Harît (and more recently at Tebtunis) showed that plenty of ostraca were forthcoming if only a systematic search for them was made.

The use of fragments of pottery as a writing material was necessarily restricted to short documents, principally receipts, the custom of giving which was observed with the utmost strictness (cf. xxi). The excessive brevity of these documents, in which the formula is frequently reduced to the barest minimum consistent with its legal validity, and their numerous abbreviations, combined with the usually very cursive character of the writing and the unsatisfactory nature of the material, on which ink was especially liable to run or to fade, often make their decipherment and interpretation a matter of extreme difficulty. The monumental work of Wilcken, however, marks a new era in this branch of study, and by the aid of the mass of material so carefully and accurately classified by him, it should henceforth be comparatively easy in most cases to interpret fresh examples from well-known sources of ostraca such as Thebes and Syene. But ostraca from a new district inevitably possess peculiar formulae, the difficulties of which do not readily yield to a comparison with examples from other parts of Egypt. Fortunately the interpretation of Fayûm ostraca can often be supplemented by papyri from the same locality with similar formulae.

The ostraca from Kaṣr el Banât, Harit and Wadfa fall into five classes. The first of these consists of receipts for taxes in money, amongst which are found the tax for the maintenance of baths (**2–4**, **6**, cf. xlvi; **5** is somewhat different), and that on making beer (**8–10**, cf. **11** and **48**). A tax connected with wine occurs in **7**, and some new and obscure payments in **49**. Orders for payment constitute the second class of ostraca (**11**, **12**, **14–19**). One group (**14–18**), which belongs to the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, presents considerable resemblance to xviii (*a*) and (*b*). As in those two papyri, the γραμματεὺς of the (δημόσιοι) γεωργοὶ or of the κτηνοτρόφοι issues the orders (μέρισον is the verb in the ostraca instead of μέτρησον in xviii (*a*) and (*b*)), and though it is not stated in the ostraca to which official they were addressed, the analogy of the papyri is in favour of supposing that they were sent to the sitologus. The nature of the instructions seems, however, to be different in the papyri and in the ostraca. In the former the payments were apparently to be made *from* the granary by the sitologus, while in the latter the payments are made into the granary, as is shown by **17**. 3, where (ε)ἰς θησαυρόν is found. What kind of payments are meant is, however, uncertain, owing to the obscurity attaching to the proper names which follow (ε)ἰς θησαυρόν or θη(σαυρ . .) in each case. From **14** it is clear that these are personal not village names, yet from **14** and **17** it appears that these persons are neither the owners of the produce brought to the θησαυρός nor the persons in charge of the transport.

The third class of ostraca (**20–23**), consisting of receipts for payments of hay or chaff (**20**, **21**; cf. **19**), or barley (**22** and **23**), offers no special difficulty; but the case is otherwise with the fourth class (**24–40**), a large and closely connected group, of which **24**, **36**, and **39** are the best illustrations, though even there the absence of any verb renders the interpretation extremely doubtful. The formula in this group with some variations, generally due to omissions or mere differences of the order, is this: (1) θησ (i. e. θησαυροῦ, cf. **30**) followed by a village name; (2) γενη(μάτων) of a year (in all cases that preceding the year in the date); (3) διὰ κτηνῶν followed by a place name which may be another Fayûm village (e.g. **38**. 3), or a place outside the Fayûm (e.g. **37**. 2); (4) a personal name in the nominative; (5) διά followed by the name of an ὀνηλάτης or κτηνοτρόφος; (6) ὄνοι, or more rarely σάκκοι, followed by a number; (7) date. This scheme is obviously very like that of the ostraca found at Sedment near Heracleopolis and only a few miles from Illahûn. In these (Wilcken, *Ost.* i. p. 707) the formula runs:—(1) date; (2) σιτολ(ογ . .) (sometimes omitted) followed by a Fayûm village name; (3) γενή(ματος) followed by a year; (4) διὰ ὄνων followed by a place name, either in the Fayûm or in another nome; (5) a number of ὄνοι or σάκκοι and the number of artabae carried. With the

substitution of $\theta\eta\sigma(\alpha\upsilon\rho o\hat{\upsilon})$ for $\sigma\iota\tau o\lambda(o\gamma\ .\ .)$ the Sedment ostraca are nothing but shorter examples of the formula given at length in **24** and **36**, the characteristic difference between the two groups lying in the fact that personal names occur in no case among the ostraca from Sedment, but in nearly every case among those from the Fayûm. The Sedment ostraca are explained by Wilcken not as tax-receipts, but as notes of the officials at the *Controlestation* of Sedment recording the grain exported from the Fayûm for Alexandria upon donkeys partly requisitioned from the neighbouring nomes. The abrupt character of the formula is, he supposes, due to the fact that these ostraca were not given to the persons in charge of the animals, but were merely private notes of the officials at Sedment which were subsequently entered in the official books.

This explanation does not, however, suit the Fayûm series. There is no reason for thinking that a document found e.g. at Theadelphia with the heading $\theta\eta\sigma(\alpha\upsilon\rho o\hat{\upsilon})$ Θεαδελφείας was written outside the Fayûm. It is, on the contrary, extremely probable that it was written at Theadelphia; and comparing the Fayûm with the Sedment ostraca, it seems to us much more likely that the latter were written at the villages of which the names occur in the first line after $\sigma\iota\tau o\lambda(o\gamma\ .\ .)$, than at Sedment itself which is never named in them. If the theory that they are concerned with the exportation of grain from the Fayûm is correct, we should in any case prefer to regard the Sedment ostraca as tickets issued to the transporters at the starting-point, to be given up on leaving the Arsinoite nome. But are the grounds sufficient for supposing that in either of the two series the grain mentioned was being exported? In the case of the Sedment ostraca the principal reason lies in the fact that they were found outside the Fayûm, an argument which does not apply to those from the Fayûm. The employment of donkeys from other nomes than the Fayûm, which is frequent in the Sedment ostraca and occurs at least once in those from the Fayûm (**37**. 2, cf. **34**), is perhaps more intelligible on the view that the grain was about to pass, or had passed, the boundaries of the Fayûm; but it is curious that camels, which are much more suited for long journeys than donkeys, never occur. If the Fayûm ostraca are considered by themselves it is not at all a natural inference that the grain was to be exported. The general scheme of the most detailed ostraca, e.g. **24** and **36**, bears considerable resemblance both in the order of the phrases and in their construction to the ordinary sitologus receipts with the formula *μεμετρήμεθα ἀπὸ γενημάτων κ.τ.λ.* (e.g. lxxxi–lxxxv); and there are some other indications, such as the occurrence of *(ε)ἰς τὸν δημόσιον θησαυρόν* in **32**, the later addition made in **24**. 7–9, and the issue of two ostraca concerning the same person within two days (**27** and **28**), which suit the view that these ostraca are receipts issued for grain received by the

sitologi of the villages mentioned in the headings. The fact that the transport animals generally come from other villages has its parallel in the ἄποικοι found in sitologus accounts, e.g. lxxxvi (cf. p. 210); and the distinction frequently found in the ostraca between the ὀνηλάτης (διά with the genitive) and the person in the nominative corresponds to the distinction, e.g. in lxxxiv. 9, between the person credited with the payment (the land-owner), and the agent who actually makes the payment (the tenant). On the other hand this view of the Fayûm ostraca does not explain wherein these supposed payments differ from the payments for land-tax, nor why, if the Sedment ostraca are also sitologus receipts, they came to be found together outside the Fayûm. The resemblance between the Fayûm ostraca and the sitologus receipts, though a strong argument for regarding the former as receipts of some kind issued by sitologi, hardly warrants our treating them as receipts for land-tax, although it is difficult to see what other kinds of payment would be likely to be meant. The occurrence at Sedment of sitologus receipts from various parts of the Fayûm may be due to accident, but it is more satisfactory to account for their presence by supposing that they were brought there with a definite object. If so, Wilcken's hypothesis with the modifications we have suggested (p. 319) remains the most probable explanation of the Sedment series. But it does not seem possible to obtain a consistent explanation of both groups until more evidence is forthcoming to show what verb has to be supplied.

The fifth class of ostraca (**41**–**50**) is of a miscellaneous character, including three receipts (**41**–**43**) for payments of corn, which are perhaps analogous to those in **24**–**40**.

A notable feature of these Fayûm ostraca is the large proportion of them which belongs to the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. After A.D. 50 there are but very few examples before about A.D. 250, at which point they again become common.

1. Wadfa. B.C. 25.

(Ἔτους) ε Καίσαρος, δι(έγραψεν)
Ἡρακλ( ) Τῦβ(ι) ιζ (δραχμὰς) δ.

A specimen of a tax-receipt reduced to the barest elements. The name of the tax is not given here, but in another ostracon found with this one, dated in Athur of the 5th year, Ἡρακλ( ) is followed by an abbreviation, probably the name of a tax, which, owing to the faintness of the ink, we have been unable to decipher. It consists of four letters, the first being like α or ε, the third like the sign for drachmae, and the fourth being above the line, perhaps λ. The sum paid is, as in **1**, 4 drachmae.

2. Ḳaṣr el Banât. B.C. 23.

(Ἔτους) ζ, Παχὼν ιη, δι(έγραψεν)
Ἡρᾶς χήρα μήτηρ Ἥρωνος
τέλ(ους) βαλαν(είων) Εὐημερ(είας) δι(ὰ) Ἥρωνος ἐπὶ λ(όγου)
ὀβολ(οὺς) δέκα τέ(σ)σαρες, / (ὀβολοὶ) ιδ. (2nd hand) Ἥρων σεση-
με(ί)ωμαι.

'The 7th year, Pachon 18. Heras, a widow (?), mother of Heron, has paid for the bath-tax at Euhemeria through Heron on account, fourteen obols, total 14 ob. Signed, Heron.'

2. Perhaps Χηρα( ). On the bath-tax cf. introd. to xlvi. 3. Heron in this line and the next is the tax-collector.

3. Ḳaṣr el Banât. B.C. 3.

Ἔτους κζ Καίσαρος, Ἐπεὶφ κθ,
δι(έγραψαν) Σαμβαθέ(ων) καὶ Δυσθέα(ν)
τέλ(ους) βαλ(ανείων) Εὐη(μερείας) χα(λκοῦ) ὀβ(ολοὺς) δέκα
ὀκτώι, / ιη.

A receipt for bath-tax paid by two persons, the first, Sambatheon, being of Semitic origin.

4. Ḳaṣr el Banât. A.D. 24.

(Ἔτους) ι Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,
Παχὼ(ν) ια, διαγε(γράφηκε) Μενχ(ῆς) Πάτρω(νος)
τέλ(ους) βαλ(ανείων) Εὐ(ημερείας) ἐπὶ λό(γου) (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας, / (δραχ-
μαὶ) δ.

Another receipt for bath-tax.

5. Wadfa. A.D. 34.

Χαιρέας βαλαν(ευ)τ(ὴς) Φιλωτ(ερίδος) Ἑρμίᾳ [χα(ίρειν).
ἔχω εἰς λόγον βαλανευτ(οῦ) το[ῦ
ἰκοστοῦ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσ[αρος
Σεβαστοῦ ὀβολοὺς [. . . . .
Μεσορὴ κς σ[. .

This payment is different from the ordinary *τέλος βαλανείων*, being received by a *βαλανευτής* not by a *πράκτωρ*. A payment for the *χ(ιρωνάξιον) βαλανευτῶν* occurs in Wilcken, *Ost.* II. no. 527, but that too is something different. The present document seems rather to refer to a payment to the superintendent of the bath for the use of the bath, or else for part of his salary.

6. Kaṣr el Banât. Second century.

Δόσις βαλ(ανευτικῶν ?) τοῦ κ (ἔτους)
διὰ Μάρων(ος) Ὥρ̣(ου)
καὶ τ̣ῶ̣ν λο(ι)π̣(ῶν)
Ἥρων ιγ
ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) τέσσαρες,
/ (δραχμαὶ) δ.

1. Perhaps Δὸς (ε)ἰς βαλ(ανεῖα), but the first line seems rather to be a heading, like μέτρημα θησαυροῦ found on Theban sitologus receipts. 3. λο) Ost. 4. The distance between Ἥρων and ι makes the division Ἥρωνι γ improbable. The γ has a stroke over it, so probably ιγ means the 13th of a month; cf. **9.** 3.

7. Kaṣr el Banât. A.D. 4.

Ἀφροδίσιος Μυσθᾶτι Ὀρσενούφ(ιος)
χα(ίρειν). ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ τὴ(ν) τιμὴν τῶν
δύο κελ(αμίων) τοῦ οἴν(ου) γενη(μάτων) δευτέρ-
ου καὶ τριακοστοῦ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος
ἀλγυ(ρίου) (δραχμὴν) μίαν, / (δραχμὴ) α. (ἔτους) λδ
Καίσαρος, Φαῶφι ιε,
πλήλης.

3. l. κερ(αμίων), and so in 5 ἀργυ(ρίου) and 7 πλήρης. It is probable but not certain that this refers to payment of a tax, rather than to a payment for wine purchased (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 271); but which of the taxes upon wine is meant is obscure. In Wilcken, *Ost.* II. no. 1264, a payment ὑπὲρ τιμῆς οἴνου is stated to be εἰς ἀννῶν(αν), on which tax see *ibid.* I. p. 155. Since the money payment here is an alternative for payment in kind, the land-tax upon vineyards which was necessarily paid in money is out of the question. But the ἀπόμοιρα (cf. introd. to xli) may be meant.

8. Kaṣr el Banât. A.D. 5.

Σαραπίων ζυτο(ποιὸς ?) Πετεσούχ(ῳ)
Σισόιτος κωμάρχ(ῃ) χαίρειν.
ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ε . . . ( ) ζυτ( )
τοῦ κδ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος ἀργυ(ρίου)
(δραχμὰς) τέσσαρες, / (δραχμαὶ) δ.
(ἔτους) κδ Καίσαρος,
Φαμε(νὼθ) κα.

Perhaps a receipt for beer supplied, if ζυτο(ποιός) is right in line 1; but owing to the obliteration of the word before ζυτ( ) in line 3, which is unlike ἐπὶ λ(όγου) or εἰς λ(όγον), it is uncertain whether a tax is not meant.

9. Harît. Late first century B.C. or early first century A.D.

Φαρμοῦθι
Ὧρος Ἀμεψάιτος
λ̄ ζυτ( ) ὀβολ(οὶ) η.

Probably a receipt for beer-tax; cf. **10**. λ in line 3 appears to be the day of the month; cf. **6**. 4.

10. Ḳaṣr el Banât. A.D. 54–68.

[(Ἔτους) . . Ν]έρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
[Σεβαστο]ῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορο(ς),
[Φαμε]νὼ(θ) δ, Κοπίθων καὶ Σάτυ-
[ρος ζ]υτοπ(οιίας) κατ' ἄνδ(ρα) Εὐημ(ερείας)
[ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) τέσσ]αρες, / (δραχμαὶ) δ.

4. On the nature of the tax ζυτοποιίας κατ' ἄνδρα see introd. to xlvii.

11. Harît. B.C. 25.

Δίδυμος Πετεσούχ(ῳ)
χαίρειν. δὸς Διδύμ(ῳ)
ὥστε εἰς τὴν τοῦ Διὸς ση( )
ζύ(του) κεράμ(ιον) ἕν, / ζύ(του) κεράμ(ιον) α.
(ἔτους) ϛ, Χοί(ακ) α.

An order for the payment of a jar of beer, for what purpose is obscure owing to the abbreviation in line 3.

12. Harît. B.C. 6.

Πετεσο(ῦχος) λογε(υτὴς) Ὀννώ(φρει)
Πετεσο(ύχου) χαίρειν. δὸς
Πολίωι ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) δ,
/ ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) δ.
(ἔτους) κδ, Τῦβ(ι) ιε.

An order from a tax-collector (λογευτής is the Ptolemaic term for the πράκτωρ of the Roman period) to pay 4 drachmae to some person (? his agent).

13. Harît. First or second century A.D.

Φόρου φυ-
τῶν.

On this tax see introd. to xlii.

14. Ḳaṣr el Banât. A.D. 1.

Μάρω(ν) γρ(αμματεὺς) κτη(νοτρόφων), μέρισον Πετεσούχ(ῳ)
Σισόιτος ὑπ(ὸ) κριθ(ὴν) ὄνον ἕνα θη(σαυρ)
Πετῶτος Ξενίου. (ἔτους) λ Καίσαρος, Παῦ(νι) ιε.

2nd hand. *Ἀπολ(λώνιος) σεση(μείωμαι) Παῦ(νι) ιε.*

1. Perhaps Μάρω(νι) γρ(αμματεῖ); cf. **17**. But if these documents are parallel to xviii (*a*) and (*b*), they are addressed to the sitologus, and begin with a nominative; cf. **18**. 1.

2. For this construction with ὑπό cf. **15**. 2, **16**. 2, **17**. 2, and B. G. U. 362. VII. 13 ὄνω[ν] β ὑπὸ δένδρα καὶ βαΐς. Sometimes the genitive is found with ὑπό; cf. Erman, *Hermes* xxviii. p. 479, who thinks the construction is due to the influence of the Egyptian language.

θη(σαυρ): cf. **17**. 3 (ε)ἰς θησαυρόν.

15. Ḳaṣr el Banât. About A.D. 1.

Μάρω(ν) γρ(αμματεὺς) κτη(νοτρόφων), μέρισον
Ἡρακλῆ(ῳ) ὑπ(ὸ) ῥαφάνινο(ν) ὄνο(υς)
β θη(σαυρ) Ἀντιγόνου.

Same formula as **14**.

16. Ḳaṣr el Banât. About A.D. 1.

Ἁλιονῳ μέρισον Ναυτι-
τω . ι— ὑπ(ὸ) κνῆ(κον) [ὄ]νο(υς) β
καὶ ὑπ(ὸ) ὄροβον ὄνο(υς) β
θη(σαυρ) ρ̂.

Cf. **14** and **15**. The name at the beginning is apparently in the dative (? the sitologus) as in **17**. 1. The abbreviation at the end occurs again in **17**. 4. This ostracon was found with **3** and **7**.

17. Ḳaṣr el Banât. A.D. 35.

Ἀπολλωνίῳ γρ(α)μ(ματεῖ ?) ὄνων, μέρισον Φάσι[τ]ι
Ἡλιοδώρου ὑπὸ λαχανοσπέρμον ὄνους δύο
ἰς θησαυρὸν Λιβύλλης διὰ Πεθβῶς
Πάτρωνος ρ̂. (ἔτους) κα Τιβερίου Καίσαρος,
Παχὼ(ν) ιθ.

Cf. **14–16** and p. 318. ὀνηλ(ατῶν) cannot be read in line 1.

18. Ḳaṣr el Banât. Early first century.

Ἡλιόδωρο(ς) γρ(αμματεὺς) γεωργ(ῶν)
Ἀπα[. .]μας καὶ Ἀγχο(υφ) ἀμφο(τερ) Πάσειτος
θη(σαυρ) Ἰσίου φακ(οῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ιβ. Ἰσχυρᾶς
σεισημ(ειώμαι) μ . μακ( ) φακ(οῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ιβ.

1. On the γραμματεὺς (δημοσίων) γεωργῶν cf. xviii (*a*). A verb is wanted at the beginning of line 2, but neither μέρισον nor μέτρησον will suit. 4. Possibly the letters following σειση are meant for the termination of σεσημείωμαι, i. e. σεισημε(ίω)μαι, but they are not much like it. The signature of Ischyras is probably by a different hand.

19. Harît. Early fourth century.

Π(αρὰ) Ἀγαθίνου
ὀπτίωνος ἐπιμ(ελητοῦ)
χόρτου Ἀρσινοΐτου
Πτολεμίνου. δὸς Νιγί-
ρῳ χόρτ(ου) ἵππ(ους) δύο, γ(ίνονται) β.
Χοίακ ιδ.

Order from Agathinus, an *optio* in charge of the fodder for soldiers in the Arsinoite nome, to Ptoleminus (in line 4 l. Πτολεμίνῳ) to deliver two horse-loads (cf. note on lxvii. 2) of hay. 2. Cf. Ox. Pap. I. 43 *recto* III. 11 ἐπιμεληταῖς ἀχύρου. Below line 6 are some flourishes.

20. Harît. Early first century.

Μηνὶ Καισαρείου ἐνάτηι
ε( ) δι(ὰ) Πεκύσιος Φεμιᾶτο(ς)
ὑπη(ρέτου ?) χόρτο(υ) λιμνώ(δους ?) δέ(σμας)
ἑκατὸν τριάκ(οντα), / δέ(σμαι) ρλ.

A receipt for 100 bundles of hay from marshy ground (?), paid by Pekusis. 1. l. μηνός. 3. λ in λιμνω is more like δ.

21. Ḳaṣr el Banât. A. D. 306.

Παρήνεγκεν ἐν κάστρ(ο)ις ἀν(ο)ικοδομουμέν(ο)ις ἐν κώ(μῃ)
Διονυσιάδι Ἀννιανὸς Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπὸ κώ(μης)
Ταυρίνου ἀχύρου καυσίμου σάκ(κον) α.
(ἔτους) ιδ (ἔτους) καὶ β (ἔτους), Μεσορὴ ἐπαγ(ομένων) β.
Σκαμμεῖφος σεση(μείωμαι).

A receipt for a sack of chaff for fuel supplied to the camp at Dionysias. Cf. p. 11. The 14th year is that of Galerius, the second that of Severus. 1. παρηνεγκεν Ost.

22. Kaṣr el Banât. Third century.

Ἔσχον παρὰ Παήσιο(ς)
ὑπ(ὲρ) γενημ(άτων) τοῦ διεληλυθ(ότος)
β (ἔτους) ὑπ(ὲρ) δημοσί(ας) γῆς ὀνό(ματος)
αὐτ(οῦ) κριθῆς ἀρτάβας δέκα,
γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ι. α (ἔτους), Φαμε(νὼθ)
ιδ.

'I have received from Paësis for the produce of the past second year for public land, to be placed to his account, ten artabae of barley, total 10 art.' A receipt given by a sitologus to a δημόσιος γεωργός for payment of rent. The difference in the formula between this and ordinary receipts for rent paid by δημόσιοι γεωργοί, e.g. lxxxv. 7, should be noted; cf. introd. to lxxxi. The date cannot be fixed with certainty. κ (ἔτους) could be read in line 3.

23. Harit. A.D. 298.

[(Ἔτους) ιδ κ]αὶ ιγ (ἔτους) καὶ δ (ἔτους), Ἐπεὶφ
ις, ἐμέτρη(σε) Πανεῦς
ἱερεὺς Εἰολυουθείας
δι(ὰ) Τυπώσεως κατ(οίκων)
Θρασὼ κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβας) καθαρὰς
δύο ἥμισυ, γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) β (ἥμισυ).
Αὐρήλιος Χαι-
ραίας γυ(μνασίαρχος) καὶ
υἱὸς Ε . . . ( )
δεκάπ(ρωτοι)
. ἀρ(τάβας)
β (ἥμισυ ?).

An acknowledgement by a δεκάπρωτος and his son (?) of the receipt of 2½ artabae of barley for land-tax upon κάτοικοι, paid by a priest of Eileithyia (l. Εἰλειθυίας in line 3). The formula is similar to that of lxxxv; cf. introd. to lxxxi. 1. The sovereigns whose regnal years occur are Diocletian, Maximian, and the two Caesars, Constantius and Galerius. There is an error in the years of the Caesars, which should be ϛ not δ; cf. Gr. Pap. II. lxxiv. 7, where there is a similar mistake of two years in their date, and Pap. Ox. I. 43 *recto* III. 15, where there is an error of one year. With a treble system of regnal years such mistakes are not surprising. 3. The goddess Nekhbet worshipped at El Kab was identified with Eileithyia by the Greeks. 5. Θρασώ: cf. cxxxiii. 17. 7. l. Χαιρέας; the readings are very uncertain after this except in line 10.

24. Harit. Middle of the third century.

Θησ(αυροῦ) Θεαδελφ(είας)
γενη(μάτων) ε (ἔτους) διὰ κτη-
νῶν μητροπόλε-
ως Σωδίκης ποιμὴν
διὰ Ἀμμωνίου ὀνηλ(άτου)
σάκ(κοι) δ. (ἔτους) ϛ, Μεχ(εὶρ) ιϛ.
καὶ τῇ ιθ ὁμοίως ἄλ-
λοι σάκ(κοι) β, / σάκ(κοι) ϛ.
(ἔτους) ϛ, Μεχ(είρ).

On the meaning of this large group (**24–40**) see pp. 318–320. **24–29** were found together, and all of them concern the same person Sodikes. They belong to the third century, about the time of the Philippi and Decius (cf. **26**). 6. ιϛ corr. from ιδ.

25. Harit. Middle of the third century.

Θεαδελφίας
γενη(μάτων) α (ἔτους) δι(ὰ)
ἰδίο(υ) κτήν(ους)
Σωδίκης
ποιμὴν ὄν(ος)
α. (ἔτους) β,
Φαῶφι
κα.

Cf. **24**; the formula is shortened by the omission of θησαυροῦ. The date is probably the reign of Decius; cf. **26**.

26. Harit. A.D. 250.

Θεαδελφίας γενη(μάτων) ϛ (ἔτους)
δη(μοσίων) κτην(ῶν) Πέλα
Σωδίκης ποιμὴν
ὄν(οι) β. (ἔτους) α, Τῦβι κε.

Cf. **24** and **25**. δι(ά) not δη(μοσίων) would be expected at the beginning of line 2, but δη‾ is clear. The village of Pela occurs again in **33**. A comparison of the first year in line 4 with the sixth year in line 1, which on the analogy of **24** and **25** must be the year preceding, shows that the ostracon was written in the first year of an emperor whose predecessor died in his seventh year. Both Gordian and Philippus died in the seventh year of their reigns, but the day, Tubi 25 (Jan. 20), suits the first year of Decius, who became emperor in the autumn of Philippus' seventh year, not that of Philippus, who only succeeded in the spring of Gordian's seventh year.

27. Harît. Middle of the third century.

Ε (ἔτους), Τῦβι κγ, Τήεως
Σωδίκης ποι-
μὴν ὄνοι δ.

Cf. **24** and **28**. Τήεως is no doubt a village name, sc. διὰ κτηνῶν; cf. the similar omission in **37**. 2 and in the Sedment ostraca.

28. Harît. Middle of the third century.

Ε (ἔτους), Τῦβι κε, Τήε-
ως Σ(ω)ιδίκης
ποιμὴν ὄνοι
[[τε̣]] δ.

By the same hand as **27**, which was written two days earlier.

29. Harît.

Γ (ἔτους) γενη(μάτων) β (ἔτους), Τῦβι κϛ,
κώ̣(μης) Βε̣( ) Σωδί-
κης ὄνοι γ.

2. Perhaps Βε(ρενικίδος).

30. Harît. Third century.

Θησαυροῦ Θεαδ(ελφείας)
γενη(μάτων) ιγ (ἔτους)
Ἀρυτ̣( ) ὄνο(ι) δ (ἀρτάβαι) ιδ.

31. Harît. Third century.

Μεχ(εὶρ) κϛ, θη(σαυροῦ) Θεαδε(λφείας)
Οὐῆτις πρεσβύτε(ρος)
σάκ(κους) ια.

32. Harît. Third century.

Ἰς τὸ(ν) δη(μόσιον) θησαυρὸν
δι(ὰ) Σαρᾶς Ἄμμωνος κτηνο-
τρόπ(ου) Ἔρως Ἔρωτ(ος) πυροῦ
καθ(αροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) θ.

2. l. Σαρᾶτος . . . κτηνοτρόφ(ου) (written κτηνοτροπ). This is clearly a receipt for wheat paid into the granary; cf. p. 319.

33. Harît. Third century.

Παῖλα ὄνοι ις,
Πτολε(μαΐδος) Βακχ(ι)ά(δος ?) ι,
Μ . . ιθης Ζωσί(μου) ς,
Σένεπτα ὄνοι ια,
Δῖος Πετερ(μούθιος) καὶ Ἀπῦγχ(ις) ἀδελφ(ός).

Cf. **34** and **35**. 1. l. Πέλα, cf. **26**. 2. 2. No village called Ptolemais Bacchias is known. 3. The beginning of this line is very uncertain; a village, not a personal name is expected. Perhaps we should divide Μ . . . ι( ) θησ(αυροῦ). 4. A village called Senepta occurs in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. Ox. Pap. I. 72. 5 κώμης Σένεπτα.

34. Ḳaṣr el Banât. Third century.

Ιθ (ἔτους), Ἀθὺρ ιη, γενη(μάτων) ιη (ἔτους),
Ὀξυρύγχ(ων) ὄνοι ια,
Ἄρεως ὄνοι ς,
Πτολ(εμαΐδος) Μελ( ) ὄνοι ε,
γ(ίνονται) ὄνοι κβ.
πρὸς Ὀρσέαν
Ἥρωνα.

Cf. **33** and **35**. The first line here, which corresponds to the heading of e. g. **29**, shows that **33–35** are probably abbreviated forms of the receipts given in full in **24**. 2. Probably the village of Oxyrhyncha in the Fayûm is meant. 3. A village called Ἄρεως in the Heracleopolite nome is known from B. G. U. 552. II. 6. 4. Ptolemais Μελ( ) is also found in Wilcken, *Ost.* II. nos. 1102 and 1123.

35. Ḳaṣr el Banât. Third century.

Κυνῶ(ν) ὄνοι θ,
Τρικωμία(ς) ὄνοι ι,
Φυλακιτική(ς) ὄνοι η,
Λυσομαχὶς ὄνοι δ,
πρὸς Ὀρσέαν Ἥρωνα.

A line effaced.

Cf. **34**, which refers to the same individual. In the first three lines the scribe seems to have written ον first, and then inserted οι in each case. These villages are all in the Fayûm.

36. Ḳaṣr el Banât. Third century.

Θησ(αυροῦ) Εὐημερίας
γενη(μάτων) ε (ἔτους) διὰ κτη(νῶν)
Φιλαγρίδος Κόλλου-

θος Σαβε̣ί̣ν̣ος σάκ(κον) α
διὰ Σούλι̣ος ὀνηλ(άτου).
(ἔτους) ϛ, Φαμενὼθ γ.

Same formula as **24**. 4. l. Σαβείνου, but the name is doubtful.

37. Ḳaṣr el Banât. Third century.

Δ (ἔτους), Χύακ κζ,
γενη(μάτων) γ (ἔτους) Μεμφίτου νομοῦ
[[Σ̣κεύθ̣ε̣ω̣ς̣]] Ἄρειος
Ἀγχώφεως ὄνοι γ.

2. For the omission of διὰ κτηνῶν before Μεμφίτου cf. **27**. 1. 4. πγ χωφεως Ost.

38. Ḳaṣr el Banât. Third century.

Δ (ἔτους), Φαῶφι ι, γενη(μάτων)
τοῦ διελ(ηλυθότος) γ (ἔτους) θεᾶς
Ἴσιδος τῆς κώ(μης)
ὄνοι β.

This ostracon and **39**, **40**, and **50**, were found in the temple. The worship of Isis was probably associated with that of Suchus at Euhemeria as at Socnopaei Nesus; cf. p. 22. From the similarity of the formula to that in e.g. **27** and **37**, it may be inferred that διὰ κτηνῶν is omitted before θεᾶς, but possibly a tax for the benefit of Isis is meant.

39. Ḳaṣr el Banât. Third century.

Θησ(αυροῦ) κώ(μης) Εὐημε(ρείας) γενη(μάτων) α (ἔτους),
κώ(μης) Εὐημ(ερείας) δι(ὰ) Κηπωλ(ίωνος) καὶ
Ἰωά̣ν̣ν̣(ου) ὀν(ηλατῶν) Ἀνοῦφις
Πανετωηῦ̣τ̣ο̣ς δι(ὰ) κτη(νῶν)
Ὀξ(υρυγχ) ὄν(οι) ϛ
(ἔτους) β, Φαῶ(φι) ιϛ.

Cf. **40**, written on the same day, where the same ὀνηλάται recur. Both ostraca are in the same very cursive hand. 5. Either Ὀξ(υρύγχων), or Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου); cf. **34**. 2.

40. Ḳaṣr el Banât. Third century.

Θησ(αυροῦ) κώ(μης) Εὐημε(ρείας) γενη(μάτων) α (ἔτους)
δι(ὰ) Κ̣ηπωλίω(νος) (καὶ) Ἰο̣ά̣ν̣ν̣(ου)
ὀν(ηλατῶν) Ἀρίμφεως
δι(ὰ) κτη(νῶν) Τ̣υ̣ω̣( ) ὄν(οι) ε.
(ἔτους) β, Φαῶ(φι) ιϛ.

Cf. **39**. 2. καί is represented by S.

41. Ḳaṣr el Banât. Early fourth century.

Παῦνει κζ,
Ἀβοῦς σίτου
σάκ(κ)ου(ς) γ,
σίτου (ἀρτάβην) α.

This ostracon and **42** and **43** are specimens of over seventy ostraca with the same formula, found together in an oven. They are dated in Pauni, the harvest month, and are apparently receipts for corn brought to a granary. The amounts are generally given in σάκκοι; cf. **31**, and the Sedment ostraca, where 1 sack (= 1 donkey load) is equivalent to 3 artabae. In the present ostracon, therefore, the one artaba of corn is separate from the three sacks of corn, which were equivalent to 9 artabae or thereabouts. The sign for artaba is made in the same way as in Brit. Mus. Pap. 431 and 432, being merely an approximation to the later Byzantine sign. Wilcken (*Archiv*, I. p. 164) suggests that the sign in Brit. Mus. Pap. 431 means σί(του) (ἀρτάβη), but, as the present ostracon shows, wrongly.

42. Ḳaṣr el Banât. Early fourth century.

Παοῖνει ζ,
Ὦλ Διδύμου
σίτου σάκ(κο)υς
δ.

Cf. **41**. 1. l. Παῦνι. Above παοινει is πα erased.

43. Ḳaṣr el Banât. Early fourth century.

Παοῖνα ια,
Μουσῆς Σαρε-
νους σίτου σάκ(κ)ον
α.

Cf. **41**. 1. l. Παῦνι. 2. l. Μωυσῆν.

44. Harît. Second or third century.

Παῦνι κθ,
ἀπώδως Ἀπύ(γ)χι
Κῷα ι.

Order for the payment of 10 Coan measures (of wine). The Κῷον is also found in B. G. U. 531. II. 8; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 766.

1. κθ is scratched over a number erased. 2. ς of απωδως (l. ἀπόδος) corrected.

45. Ḳaṣr el Banât. First century.

Μὴ ὤχλει τοὺς
Σαμβᾶτος.

'Don't worry the people (or 'sons'?) of Sambas.' Cf. the equally laconic message in Brit. Mus. Pap. 379, which is addressed to an ἀρχέφοδος. 1. l. ὄχλει.

46. Harît. Early first century.

Ἀργυ(ρ) στε( ) (δραχμαὶ) ιϛ,
δα( ) π̣α̣ρ( ) στε( ) Ἀφ,
ἱππάρχ(η ?) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α.

A short account. 1. στε(φάνου)? 2. δα(πάνης) ἑτέρ(ου) στε(φάνου) is possible.

47. Ḳaṣr el Banât. Late first century B.C. or early first century A.D.

Φαρμο(ῦθι) θ, Τούθης Ἀφοῦς ὑπ(ὲρ)
ἐκλόγο[υ τῆς ? συ]ντάξεως
ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) δ.

A receipt for four drachmae, the arrears of a σύνταξις.

48. Harît. Early first century A.D.

Παχ(ὼν) ιβ,
Αὐνῆς Δημᾶτ(ος)
ζύτ(ου) κ(εράμια) η, ιγ κ(εράμια) δ.

Receipt for 8 + 4 = 12 jars of beer, perhaps as payment of beer-tax; cf. **8–11**.

49. Ḳaṣr el Banât. A.D. 19?

Ἔτους ἕ̣κ̣τ̣ου Τ̣ι̣β̣ε̣ρ̣ί̣ο̣υ̣ Κ̣α̣ί̣σ̣α̣ρ̣ο̣ς̣
Σεβαστοῦ, Φαῶφι ζ, δι(έγραψε) ε̣ἰ̣ς̣ β̣ι̣-
ο̣ν . . . ν̣ν̣ω̣γ̣ο̣ν Θ̣ωναρίμφης̣
(δραχμὰς) ἑκατόν, / (δραχμαὶ) ρ, καὶ τιμῆς
ἀναβολ̣ί̣ω̣(ν) ε (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) ιη.

The ink has faded, making parts of the ostracon illegible. The general formula is that of a tax-receipt (cf. **10**), but the payment 'for the value of ἀναβόλια' is quite obscure.

50. Ḳaṣr el Banât. Third century.

Κάσ̣τ̣ρ(ων) Δ̣ι̣ο̣νυ(σιάδος ?) μηνὶ
Θὼθ καὶ Φαῶφι
δι( ) Ἑρμι( ) τάξις (δραχμαὶ) η,
καὶ Τῦβι καὶ Μεχὶρ (δραχμαὶ) η,
καὶ Φαρμοῦθ(ι) . . (δραχμαὶ) η.

A military account. For the camp at Dionysias cf. **21**; but the reading Διονυ here is extremely uncertain.

INDICES

I. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

Numbers in heavier type are those of the papyri, except where otherwise stated; small Roman numerals indicate columns.

II. KINGS AND EMPERORS.

HADRIAN.

ANTONINUS PIUS.

MARCUS AURELIUS AND VERUS.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

MARCUS AURELIUS AND COMMODUS.

III. MONTHS AND DAYS.

(*a*) MONTHS.

Egyptian.	*Macedonian.*	*Roman.*
Θὼθ	Δῖος **236**.	Σεβαστός **36**. 20; **92**. 3; **152**. Γερμανικός **110**. 33; **111**. 30 (?).
Φαῶφι		
Ἁθύρ		Νέος Σεβαστός **97**. 3, 46; **153**; **321**. Νωέμπερ **135** *verso*.
Χοίακ	Περίτιος **98**. 2.	Νερώνειος **153**. Νερώνειος Σεβαστός **321**. Ἁδριανός **60**. 3; **87**. i. 16. Δεκέμπερ **135** *verso*.
Τῦβι		
Μεχείρ		
Φαμενώθ	Ἀρτεμίσιος **89**. 3.	
Φαρμοῦθι	Δαίσιος **346**.	
Παχών		Γερμανίκειος **90**. 4 (-κος Pap.); **111**. 30 (?); **153**; **191**.
Παῦνι		
Ἐπείφ		Ἰούλιος **135** *verso*.
Μεσορή		Καισάρειος **36**. 20; **81**. 3; **115**. 14; Ost. **20**. 1. Ἄγουστος **135** *verso*.

(*b*) DAYS.

IV. PERSONAL NAMES.

V. GEOGRAPHICAL.

(a) Countries, Nomes, Divisions, Toparchies, Cities.

(b) Villages.

(c) ἐποίκια, τόποι, &c.

(d) ἄμφοδα.

(e) Demes.

VI. SYMBOLS.

(a) Measures.

VII. OFFICIALS.

(Military and religious titles are included.)

VIII. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, COINS.

(a) Weights and Measures.

(b) Coins.

IX. TAXES.

X. GENERAL INDEX, GREEK AND LATIN.

XI. INDEX OF SUBJECTS
DISCUSSED IN INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES[1].

(The numbers refer to pages.)

[1] This index does not include the subjects sufficiently indicated by the titles of the papyri, for which see Table, pp. xi–xiv.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES XIV–XVII

PLATE XIV (*a*).

1=202	Gizeh	Journ.	33.343.	11=206	Gizeh	Journ.	33.358.
2=205	"	"	33.350.	12=199	"	"	33.346.
3=207	"	"	33.356.	13=194	"	"	33.335.
4=195	"	"		14=196	"	"	33.337.
5=208	"	"		15=201	"	"	33.364.
6=210	"	"	33.353.	16=198 *b*	"	"	33.347.
7=204	"	"		17=200	"	"	33.367.
8=198 *a*	"	"	33.339.	18=193	"	"	
9=209	"	"	33.355.	19=192	"	"	33.334.
10=203	"	"					

PLATE XIV (*b*).

1=218	Gizeh	Journ.	33.351.	12=227 *a*	Gizeh	Journ.	33.349.
2=238	"	"	33.359.	13=227 *b*	"	"	
3=217	"	"	33.361.	14=237	"	"	33.366.
4=230	"	"	33.360.	15=225	"	"	33.354.
5=220	"	"	33.365.	16=214	"	"	33.396.
6=229	"	"	33.357.	17=216	"	"	33.345.
7=212	"	"	33.338.	18=221	"	"	33.342.
8=222	"	"	33.344.	19=211	"	"	33.392.
9=228	"	"	33.348.	20=219	"	"	33.362.
10=226	"	"	33.332.	21=223	"	"	33.363.
11=224	"	"	33.352.	22=215	"	"	33.341.

PLATE XV.

1. Hoe. Harît. p. 52.
2. Sickle. Ḳaṣr el Banât. p. 47.
3. Knife. Ḳaṣr el Banât. p. 47.
4. Drill. Harît, 292. p. 54.
5. Head of wooden rake. Ḳaṣr el Banât. p. 46.
6. Balance. Ûmm el 'Atl.
7. Comb. Ûmm el 'Atl.
8. Comb (Ptolemaic). Ḳaṣr el Banât. p. 62.
9. Wooden funnel. Ḳaṣr el Banât. p. 46.

10, 11, 12. Wooden mallets. Ḳaṣr el Banât and Ûmm el 'Atl. p. 46.
13, 14. Spindles. Ûmm el 'Atl.
15, 16, 17. Combs for carding wool. Ḳaṣr el Banât and Harît (17 = Harît 288). pp. 46, 53.

PLATE XVI.

1. Carved chair-legs. Ûmm el 'Atl. p. 39.
2. Stamp. Ûmm el 'Atl. p. 40.
3. ? Ûmm el 'Atl.
4. Stool. Harît, 284. p. 53.
5. Stamp. Ûmm el 'Atl. p. 40.
6. Locks. Ûmm el 'Atl and Ḳaṣr el Banât. p. 46.
7. Mould. Kôm Ushîm.
8. Spits. Ûmm el 'Atl.
9. Pan-pipes. Kôm Ushîm.
10. Keys. Ûmm el 'Atl.
11. Palette. Ûmm el 'Atl.
12. Stamp. Ûmm el 'Atl. p. 40.
13. Part of table-stand. Ûmm el 'Atl.

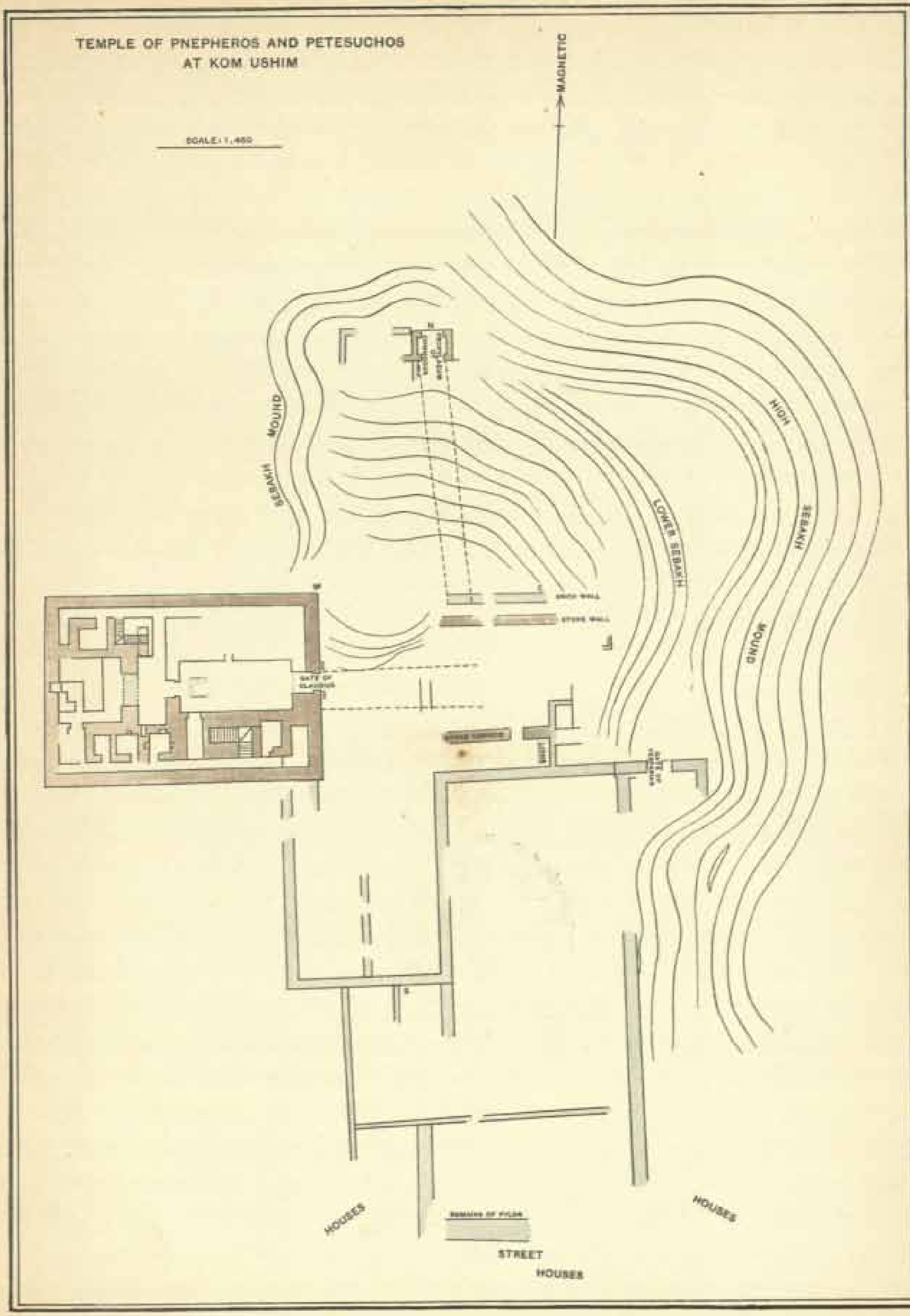
14, 15. Black earthenware vases from temple. Ûmm el 'Atl. p. 47.

16. Spinning-top (?). Ḳaṣr el Banât. p. 46.
17. Blue glaze ink-pot. Ûmm el 'Atl.
18. Blue glaze cylinder from temple. Ḳaṣr el Banât. p. 47.

PLATE XVII.

1. Sandal (rope). Ḳaṣr el Banât. p. 47.
2. " (rush). Harît, 283. p. 53.
3. " (papyrus). Ḳaṣr el Banât. p. 47.
4. Fringed cap (?). Ḳaṣr el Banât. p. 47.
5. Ox-blinkers (?). Ḳaṣr el Banât. p. 47.
6. *Shadûf* ropes. Ûmm el 'Atl.
7. Muzzle for camel or ox. Ḳaṣr el Banât. p. 47.
8. Float (?). Ûmm el 'Atl.

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TEMPLE OF PNEPHEROS AND PETESUCHOS
AT KOM USHIM
MAGNETIC
SEBAKH MOUND
LOWER SEBAKH
HIGH SEBAKH MOUND
BRICK WALL
STONE WALL
GATE OF CLAUDIUS
HOUSES
HOUSES
STREET
HOUSES

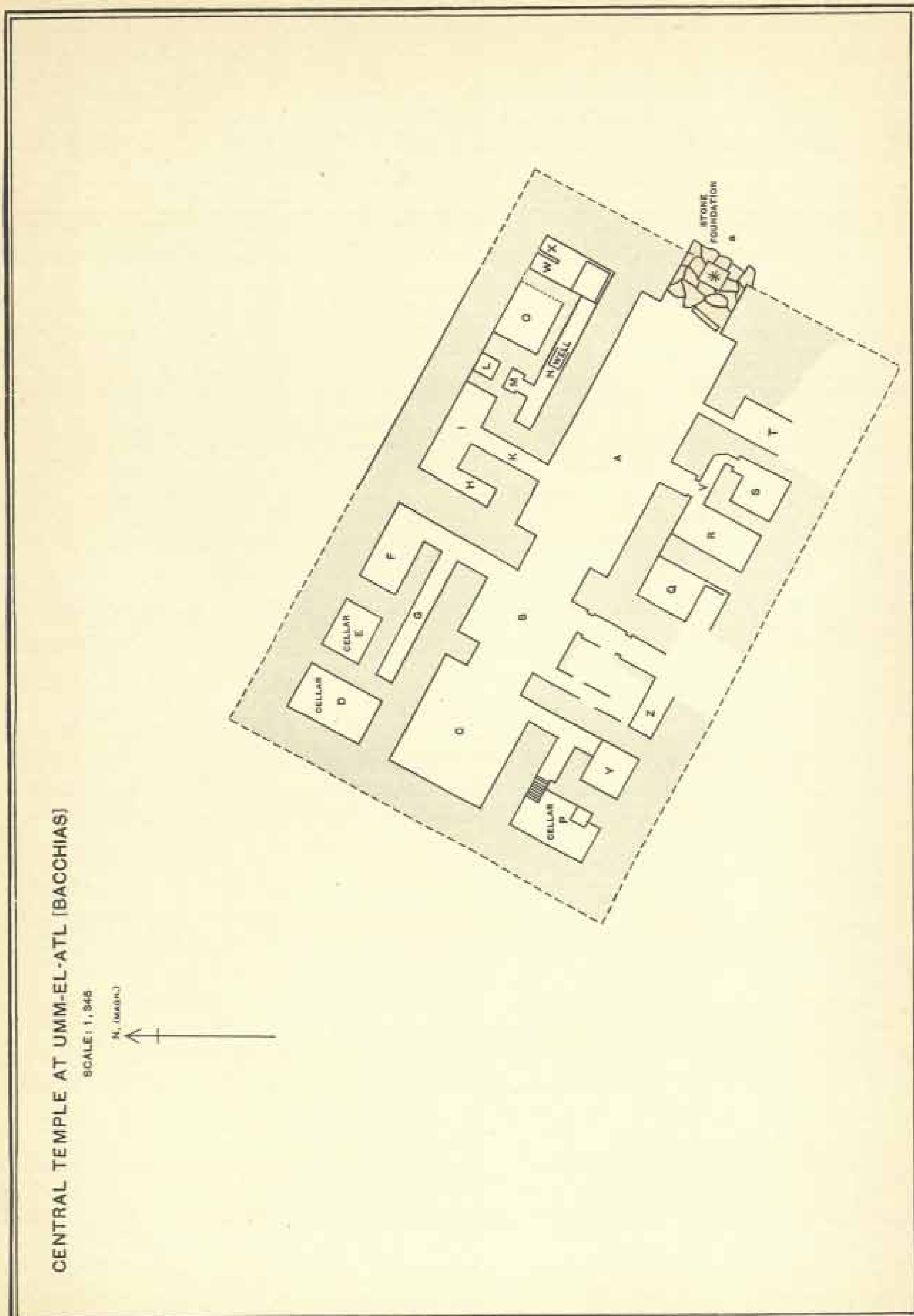
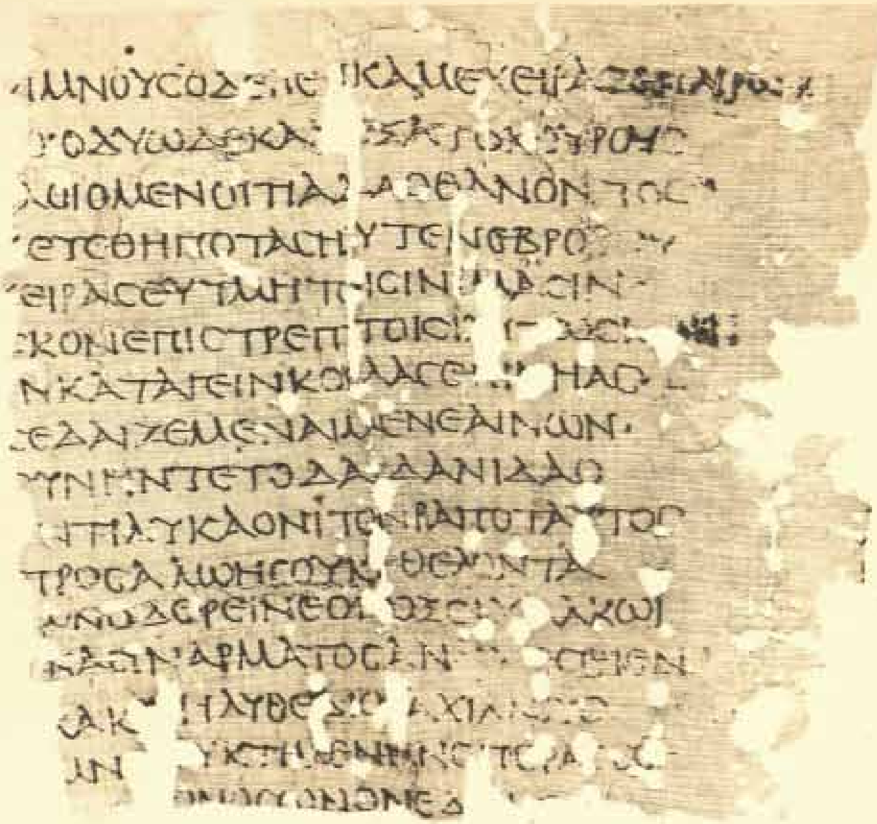

CENTRAL TEMPLE AT UMM-EL-ATL [BACCHIAS]
SCALE: 1:345
N. (MAGN.)
STONE FOUNDATION
CELLAR D
CELLAR E
CELLAR P
WELL
A
B
C
F
G
H
K
L
M
N
O
Q
R
S
T
V
W
X
Y
Z

PLATE IV



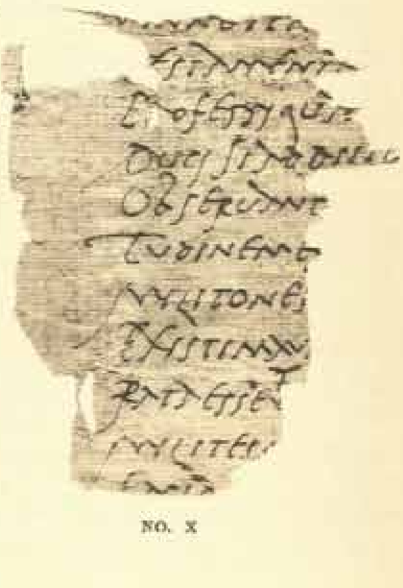
NO. VI



NO. VII

NO. IV

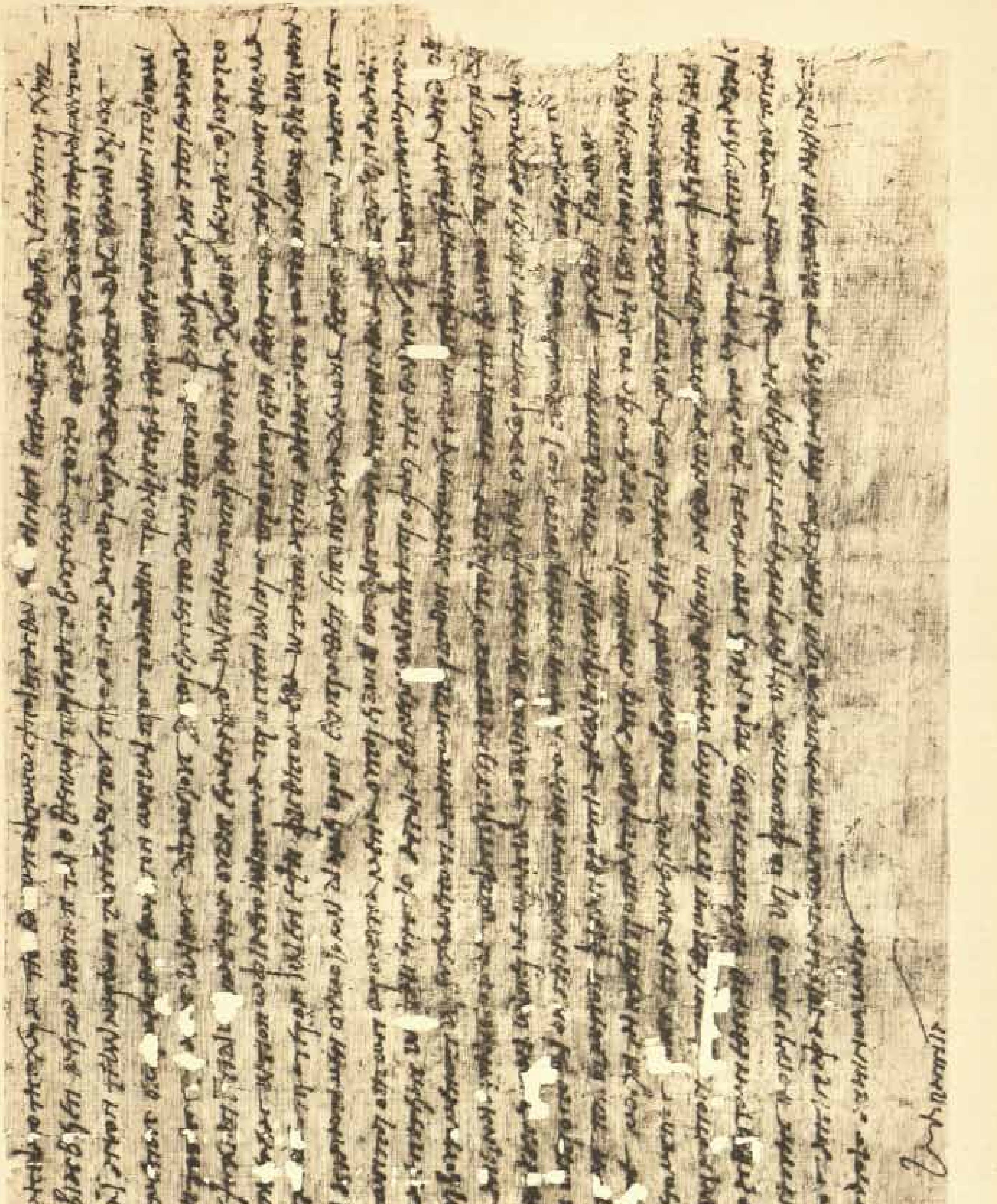




NO. X

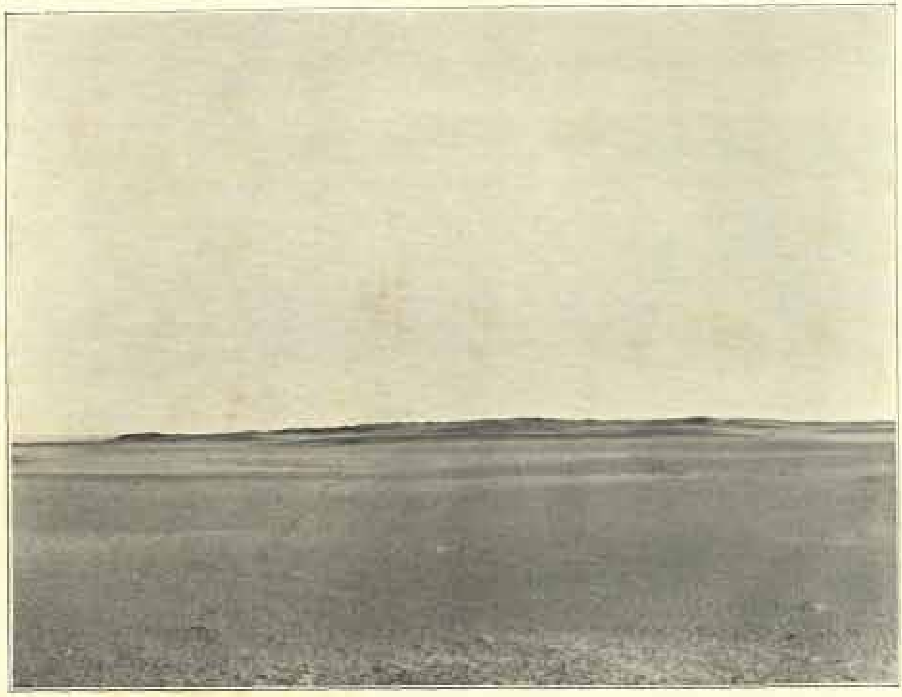


NO. CX



NO. XVIII, COL. II

PLATE VII

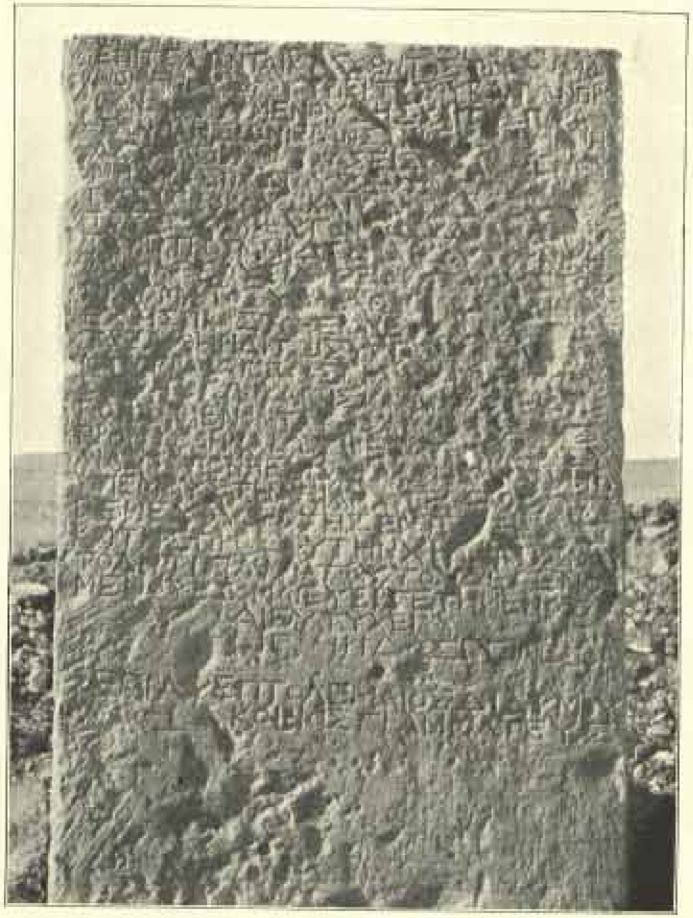


(*a*) ḲAṢR EL BANÂT FROM THE WEST



(*b*) HARÎT FROM THE EAST

PLATE VIII



(*a*) INSCRIPTION V. ḲAṢR EL BANÂT



(*b*) INSCRIPTION VI. HARÎT

PLATE IX

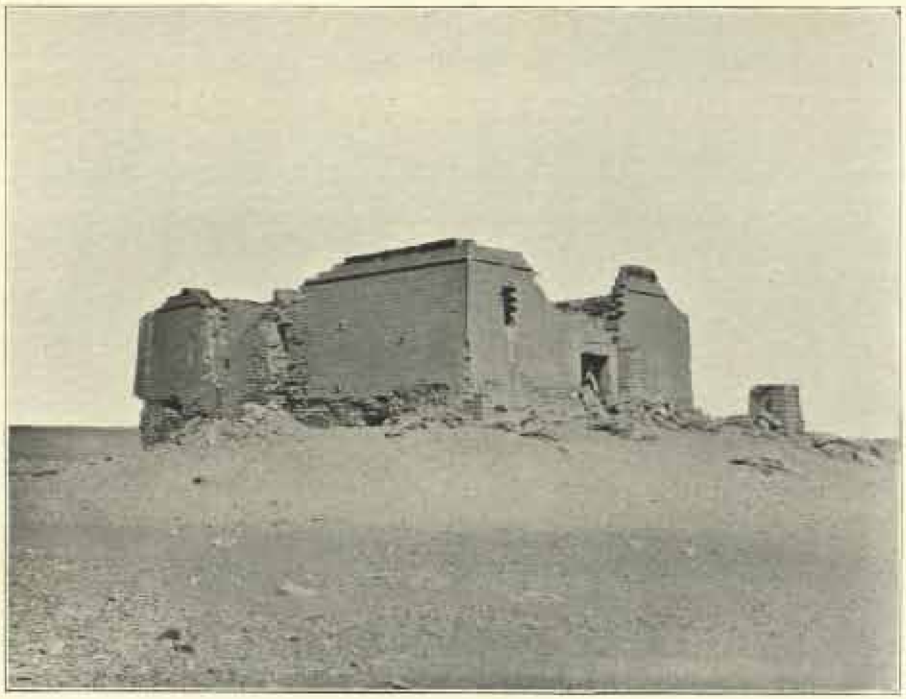


(*a*) PTOLEMAIC SHIELD. HARÎT



(*b*) ROMAN PLOUGH. HARÎT

PLATE X



(*a*) TEMPLE OF ḲAṢR ḲURÛN

1 2 3 4 5 6 7



18 19 20 21 22 23 24

(*b*) PTOLEMAIC VASES, ETC. HARÎT CEMETERY

PLATE XI

1 2 3 4 5

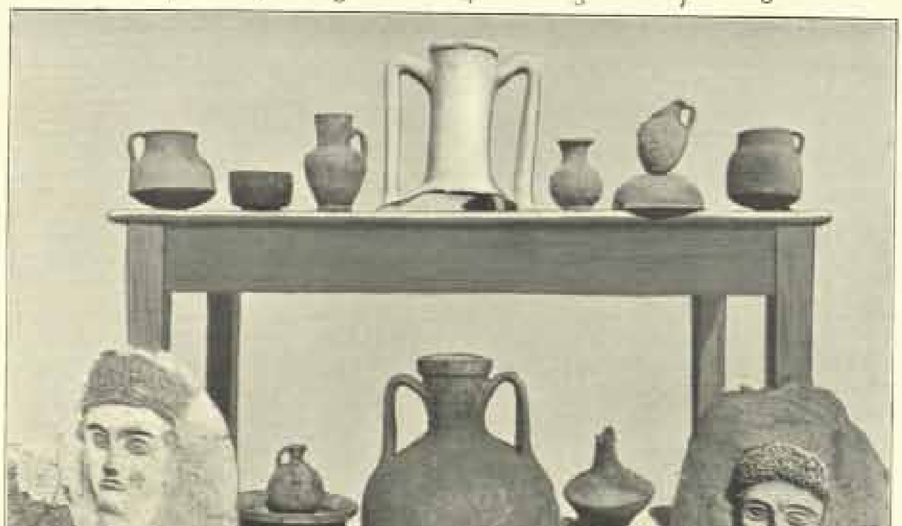


11 12 13 14 15 16 17

6 7 8 9 10

(*a*) PTOLEMAIC POTTERY. HARÎT

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8



9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

(*b*) PTOLEMAIC POTTERY AND COFFINS. HARÎT

PLATE XII



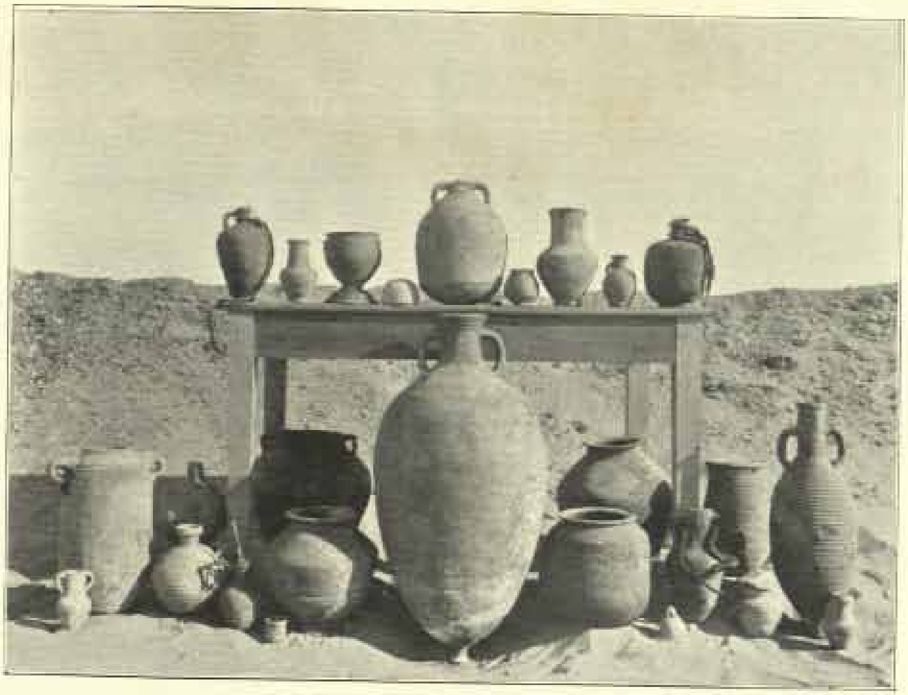
(*a*) EARLY ROMAN POTTERY. ḲAṢR EL BANÂT

1 2 3 4 5 6



7 8 9 10 11 12 13

(*b*) PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN POTTERY, ETC. ḲAṢR EL BANÂT



(*a*) ROMAN POTTERY. ḲAṢR EL BANÂT



(*b*) ROMAN POTTERY. ḲAṢR EL BANÂT

PLATE XIV

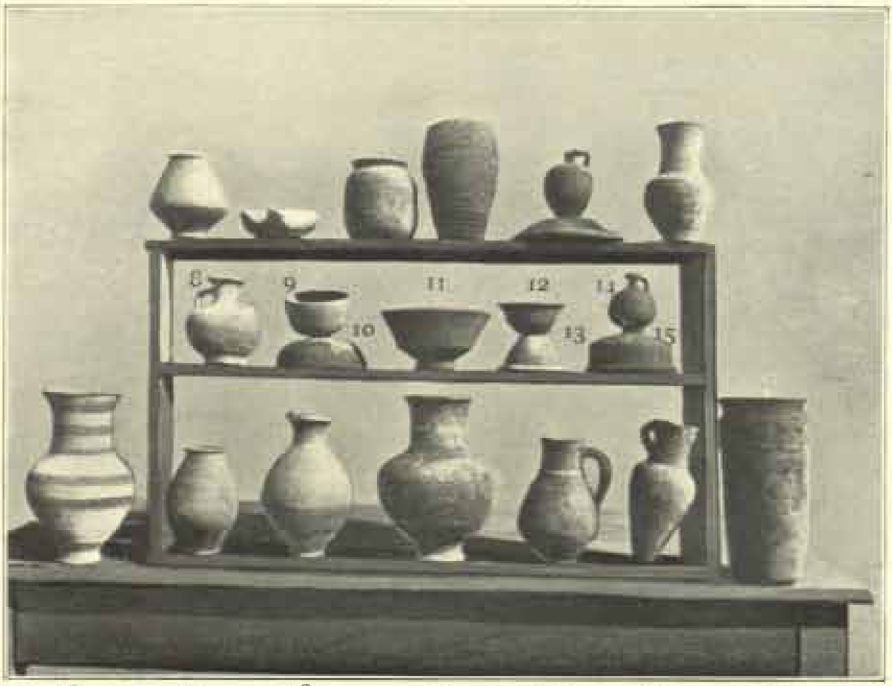
1 2 3 4 5 6 7



13 14 15 16 17 18 19

(*a*) ROMAN POTTERY. HARÎT CEMETERY

1 2 3 4 5 6 7



16 17 18 19 20 21 22

(*b*) ROMAN POTTERY. HARÎT

PLATE XV



PLATE XVI

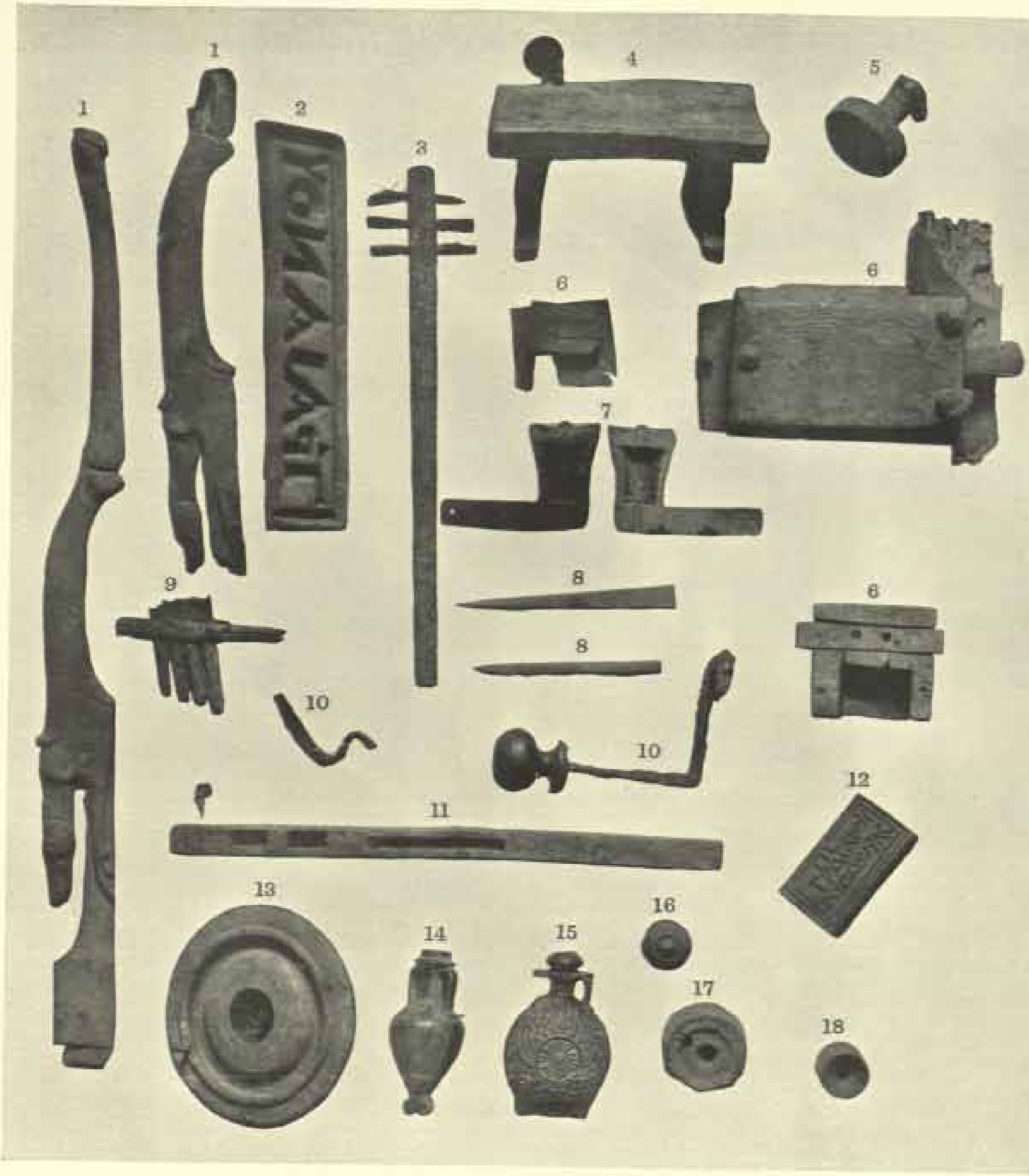
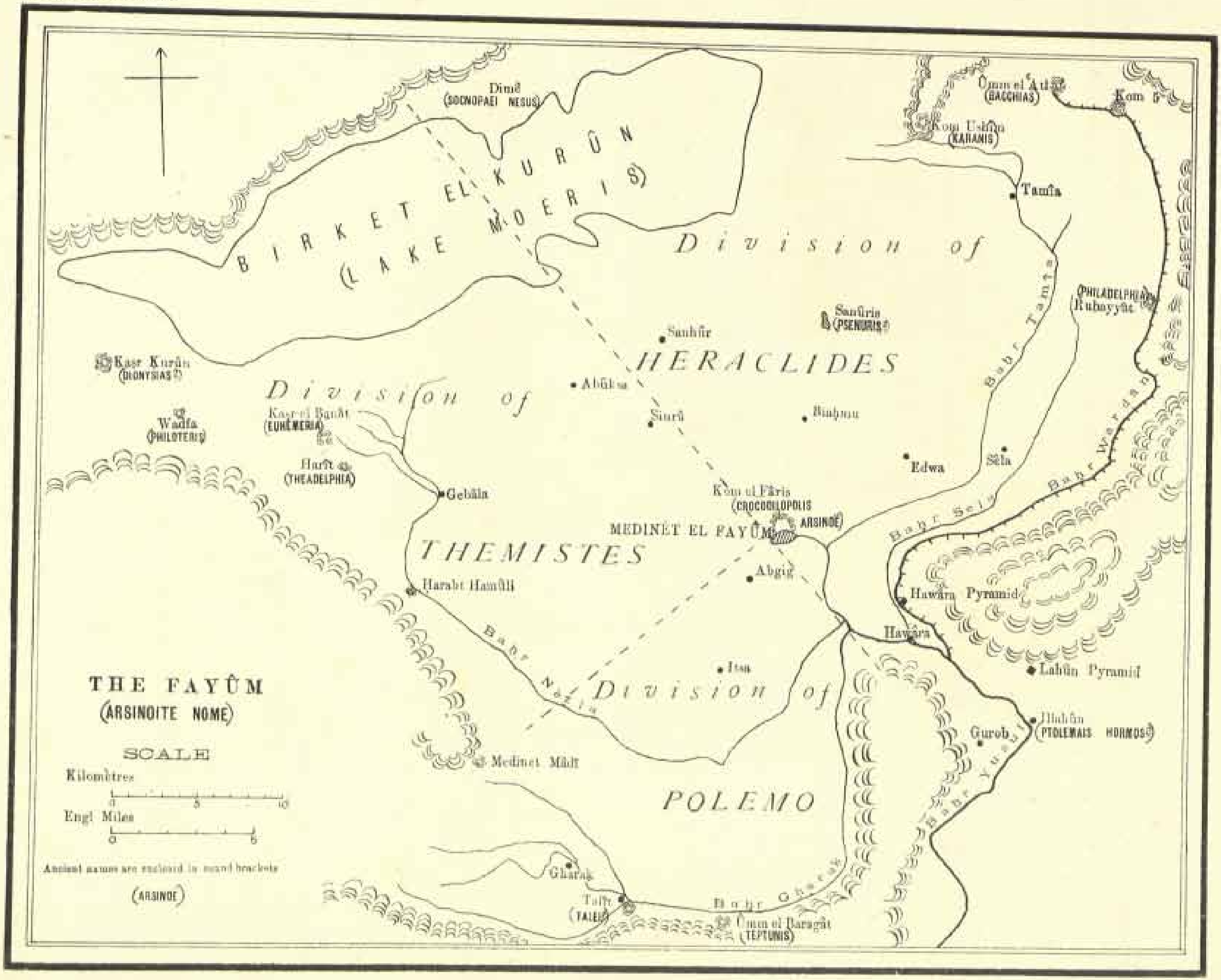


PLATE XVII



PLATE XVIII.



BIRKET EL KURÛN
(LAKE MOERIS)
Dimê
(SOKNOPAEI NESUS)
Ûmm el Atl
(BACCHIAS)
Kom 5
Kom Ushîm
(KARANIS)
Tamîa
Division of HERACLIDES
(PHILADELPHIA)
Rubayyât
Sanûris
(PSENURIS?)
Sanhûr
Kasr Kurûn
(DIONYSIAS?)
Abûksa
Siurû
Biahmu
Division of THEMISTES
Kasr el Banât
(EUHEMERIA)
Wadfa
(PHILOTERIS)
Harît
(THEADELPHIA)
Gebâla
Edwa
Sêla
Bahr Tanta
Bahr Wardan
Bahr Sêla
Kom el Fâris
(CROCODILOPOLIS
ARSINOË)
MEDINET EL FAYÛM
Abgig
Harabt Hamûli
Hawâra Pyramid
Hawâra
Lahûn Pyramid
Bahr Nazla
Itsa
Division of POLEMO
Illahûn
(PTOLEMAIS HORMOS?)
Gurob
Bahr Yusuf
Medinet Mâdi
Gharak
Tuts
(TALEI)
Bahr Gharak
Ûmm el Baragât
(TEPTUNIS)
THE FAYÛM
(ARSINOITE NOME)
SCALE
Kilomètres
Engl Miles
(ARSINOË)

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